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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

"I BLESS THEE, LORD, FOR ALL THINGS!"

St. Chrysostom.

O the days 'twixt child and woman,
Tender, beautiful, and glad,
Rich in hopes intensely human,
Wildly joyous, quickly sad!
How your dreams of joy and light
Flash upon my spirit's night,
Apotheosis of earth!
Beauty's realm, sweet Poesy's birth!
Harshness, like a cutting rime,
Nipped the flowers in budding time.
Bruised heart and wounded wing,
The bright bird forgot to sing.
Sunlit hues and shadow's fall,
I do bless Thee, Lord, for all!

O young Love's celestial vision,
Dawn of earnest womanhood!
Bathed in purple light elysian
From my heart, the idol stood.
A sudden gloom, a sore distress,
A dreary utter *loneliness*,
A blow—a fall—I knew not well,
But Jesus clasped me as I fell;
Folding me closer day by day
That human love had shrunk away.
Hour of agonizing pain,
Of fainting heart and burning brain,
Let me not thy woes recall,
I do bless Thee, Lord, for all!

Holy purpose strong upspringing
From sad love's funereal pyre;
Incense odors Heavenward winging,
Like the hallowed altar-fire!
Ah, not thine my life to bless,
With transfiguring loveliness;
All the heart's deep yearnings stilled,
In the sense of good fulfilled.
Sickness, angel of God's will,
Touched me with her fingers chill;
Separated from my kind,
Deadened heart and darkened mind,
O'er my life a brooding pall,
Yet I bless Thee, Lord, for all!

Oh, the blessed resurrection,
From the dreary Hades gloom!
Roused *to* life and sweet affection,
From the shadow of the tomb;
Longing never more to roam,
Sheltered in the nest of home.
But my household gods are flown;
In the earth a stranger grown,
Wheresoe'er my footsteps wait,
Death sits keeper at the gate;
Dainty Death, not in my stead,
Chose a dearer brighter head.
Tears of love and anguish fall,
But I bless Thee, Lord, for all!

Day of Heaven-born resignation,
Stillness of the hope and heart!
Let me in my lowly station
Bear some humble, faithful part!
While beneath God's sheltering wing,
Folded from all earthly sting,
Look I with a tear-dimmed eye
To the land of love on high;
Life's lost treasures there to see,
Where God keeps them all for me.
O sweet friends, that waiting stand,
Stretching out a longing hand,
At His feet we soon shall fall,
There to bless Thee, Lord, for all!

M. E. B.

For the National Era.

THE YOUNG MAN WHO WENT TO TOWN TO LIVE.

A STORY, BY ALICE CAREY.

"'Spose, now, brother, you give in your experience, and done with it—you'd make a mighty good exhorter, you would."

"As I said afore," resumed the middle-aged player, "you may spot me a infidel or a anything you like—but I believe in giving the devil his due, and I think like enough some of them poor critters that have gone a wading up in the mud to that are meeting-house to-night, are jest as good as you and me be; and another thing I'm in favor of, and that is in playin' the fair card; and *I* allers do, especially with the unedicated and unsurmising—and, if that aint enough, old hoss, I'll give you more to stuff your ribs with. My eyes have been a shining into you a good while, and they have seen some things that I won't dirty my hands with jest now—but, mind, I tell you if you ever *rinege* again in playing with Charley Boffman, or whatsomever else his name is, I'll thrash the whitewash off from your little carcass with the fust hoop-pole I can lay a holt of."

"I'm afeard, boys, I am," replied the old man, making a sorry attempt at laughter; "but what's the use, brother, of spiling all the fun with this sass o' yourn—but ole Billy Black aint the man to be givin' up true friends in a hurry; so less divide the pot, and try another pull, and my gray mare against Davy's wust tobacco pipe, if we don't git the twelve best games in twenty. Come, boys, you going to accede?"

"I'm ready for you," said David Marshall, scratching a match along the shutter, and lighting a new cigar. "Come, Bubby, just half try, now. Give us a specimen that's only half worthy of your genius, and old Billy's gray mare will be browsing in my flower-garden before he is ten hours older. Cut for deal, Sledgehammer; this child goes in for euchre."

"Well, I'll be blowed if I care," said the old man. "Make you play a stiffer game at euchre—something more improving to youthful mind than anything you have obfuscated yet. Our deal, by the great captain of all the steamboats!" And the old man arose and tossed his hat into the air, after which he drew one leg up very crooked, and then stretched it out very straight, at the same time drawing his mouth into a variety of contortions, indicative of intense delight—all of which ended in the exclamation, "Give us your paw, Judge, and less now jes play for sweet charity's sake, and show old Rye and Blindstreet a game of euchre as is a game of euchre!" And he reached a small rag of a hand, glittering with rings, toward the middle-aged man he had called Judge—"Jest now you stop your hoss and git down, you old bragging riffraff. I'll jes bet anything top of the ground, Bubby and I can beat you till you can't see out of your eyes. Come, Blindstreet—wake up, man!—what in the almighty name of thunder are you cogitating about to-night? Give us your hand, and let us blow 'em into trumps." And seizing the cards, still untouched on the shutter, before the young man designated as Bubby, and Blindstreet, he blew upon them with his breath, and gave them some nimble turns and twists, which, he said, changed every blasted one of the cards into a right bower; and "one of *them*," he added, facetiously, "will generally take a trick, if it's well played."

At this nightly-repeated joke, the old man drew one leg, as before, but varied the demonstration by a series of snaps of the thumb and finger, instead of tossing up the old felt hat, that was usually mashed against the right side of his gray head, or rather brown wig. It would have been esteemed a breach of etiquette in the party we write of, for one member to speak of or address another by his proper name; hence the various appellations of "Judge," "Your Uncle," "Old Rye," "Bubby," &c. This last cognomen had been bestowed on the absent-minded young man, in consideration of his country breeding, youth, and modesty. It was only very lately he had risen to the dignity of being known as "Blindstreet"—a name derived from the dark alley against which stood Mr. Boffman's house, and where the steep stairs went up to the gable. He has not yet—poor youth!—taken that high degree in wickedness which entitles him to the honorable appellation of "Ole Cuss," enjoyed by the distinguished senior member of the club.

The tallow candle was brightened—one of the party using his fingers for snuffers—a jug foaming over at the mouth, and a green glass tumbler, were placed conveniently at hand; and "the Judge," having settled his old hat lower on his brows, and he who delighted to be known among jockeys as "Skinflint," and who advertised his stables as "the Riffraff Stables," having given his little brown felt another smash, the playing was renewed. And while they are shuffling and cutting and dealing, while they "make bridges" and "go it alone" and "count up" and "rake down" and dispute and swear and exchange ribaldry, we will take the opportunity of a nearer survey of the forces in which the mind's construction has worked itself to light.

The middle-aged man, known by his comrades as "Judge," but whose real name is "Forbs," frowns incessantly, speaks little, and in an ill-natured tone; his front teeth are gone, and his mouth fallen, so as to make his gray chin the prominent feature of his face; a wooden leg slants stiffly from one knee, and the right hand has lost two of its fingers; his long neck is wound with a width of gray flannel, round-and-round; and his thick heavy coat falls open, as does the clothing beneath it, showing a bosom as rough as the swine amongst which he lives; for Mr. Forbs is a grinder of knives in one of the slaughtering establishments of Bone Town. When he goes near the fire, there rises about him a cloud of vile steam, as from some refuse, mildewed bundle, not even fit to burn. He was once a very good cooper, but he fell into bad ways, and became a hod-carrier, then a doer of chance jobs, and lastly a loafer and knife-grinder. His daughter, so big and so coarse that she seems neither woman nor man, is laughing in short-haired ugliness, and rattling her chain, in one of the stifling prison-rooms of the city hospital; and under three of the nameless mounds of the valley lie his other children. She that was his wife is not there—better if she were.

The old man—his partner in the play to-night—is a very old man, looking like one of those puff-balls we find in meadows, which a breath will break into dust. You can see some strings of white hair under his full wig; his mouth is roofed with gold; and his teeth, that look so white and so strong, are the invention of the dentist; the ruffles of his shirt are snowy-white, and fastidiously crimped; and a white horse, prancing on a ground of brown, and set in heavy gold, pins them together; a chain an inch thick crosses his red vest, and a highly-ornamented eye-glass descends from his neck. A white handkerchief, with a blue border, is partly tucked beneath the red vest, and partly hangs over the glittering buttons; and with one corner of this he frequently dries the water that overruns his little, sunken eyes. His fingers shine with rings—some of them very broad and very showy; and his thin legs are encased in pantaloons of a bright and large-checked pattern. His boots are stylish and shining; he smiles blandly; and singles his cards with an aptitude unerring as instinct. So appeared William Black, proprietor of the Riffraff Stables of Bone Town, on the night where begins our story.

David Wardell, proprietor of the "First-rate Family Grocery Store," is straight as an arrow, and handsome as he can be—his black hair and beard full and curling, eyes of sleepy indolence, and a mouth of rare and exquisite refinement—more's the pity such bad words should proceed from it. He is not absolutely lost to good, and yet he is good for nothing—lazy, disobedient, and irreverent. His class is a mixture of the loafer and the gentleman, and his manner a hodge-podge between vulgarity and profanity.

Youngest of all, and he toward whom our heart turns in spite of where we find him, is Charles Heighway. He examines his cards more closely than the others, and bends nearer the light, as if he did not readily distinguish one from another; and as he does so, his soft brown hair falls over a smooth, white forehead, and about eyes, down through whose half-melancholy depths you think there must be something good. The hand with which he now and then pushes back the fallen hair is brown and hard, with honest work, you believe. The nails are cut close, and not a ring is to be seen. His cheek is beardless, and he is by no means regularly handsome. His dress is a blending of boyish fancy and careful motherly providing; the collar seems to have been used to lying down on his neck, and will not stand upright; and he catches his fingers, now and then, in the chain that crosses his vest, as if he were not well used to it. He says little, and his thoughts seem to be not in that little.

"How came he here!" you say, as you see the look of discomfort in his face, when his partner exclaims, "Devil take you, Blindstreet; what did you trump my ace for?"

Charley bites his lips, while the red and white tangle themselves in his cheek; then he shakes back his hair, and takes up the cards, slipping one from another, to see the bad play he has made.

"What an awful thing," continues Wardell; "trump an ace! Why, ding my buttons, if you know beans when the bag is open. Charley says he don't know how he chanced to trump; he plays badly, at the best, and ought not to try to play with such good players; he don't know what is the matter to-night, but he thinks there is something wrong about his head; and he pushes his chair away from the table, and says he won't play any more."

"No you don't!" exclaims Wardell, catching him by the coat, and forcing him to sit again; "you don't come it over me in that way; jes now you settle your bones, and nail down your aces and bowers here a little, like a feller ort to, who had any respect for hisself. Come, Bubby; now do your best, and your uncle 'ill give you a stick of candy."

Charley says he would rather not, and tries to pull away. The old man lifts his eyeglass, and affects new interest in Charley, saying, with audacious profanity—

"'Spose, Bye, you jes knock in the head of a whisky cask, and make a font, and we'll have a christening; Bubby ort to be called white-liver; he's got no pluck whatsomever."

"I wouldn't be bluffed off by that cuss," growled the one-legged man, looking at Charley as kindly as he was capable of looking. "Come; we only lead two; that ain't so thunderashious bad; put your heart into it, now, and give him Jessie. I'd rather be beat myself, as not to have him beat; lead off, Bye, while the meeting-house folks give us one of their sweetest melodies."

"Oh Lord!" says Charley, and he sinks down into his chair helplessly; but the ejaculation had in it so much supplication, that the old man cackled and giggled and affected to be convulsed with laughter.

"Well, les do one thing or tother," exclaimed Wardell, angrily; "we'r jes a fooling away all our time. There! by the Apostle Deuteronomy, the congregation is about to ramify, and I promised"—he stopped suddenly, and, having bitten off the end of his cigar, added, "wo to them that put their trust in euchre players. I don't git up from this table, or shetter, more grammatically speaking, till that ere gray mare is mine, and nobody's but mine, so help me—Bubby."

"Finish the game alone, you and Mr. Black," says Charley.

"Hermit, the Peter! now, that ere is piling it up amost too steep; never do you insult me again by calling me *Mr. Black*, while I've got a dozen decent handles onto me that you can git a holt of; guess we'd better let your mother know where you are; I'm afeered your loosen your mind."

And the old man pulled at his red vest, and concluded with the accustomed "tehe!"

"Well, if you won't play, you won't," said Wardell, standing up, thrusting his hands deep in his trowsers pockets, and sliding one foot as far from the other as might well be done.

"I didn't say I wouldn't play," said Charley, "I said I couldn't play."

"Well, then, if you got a willer on your hat, in good earnest, we'll let you mourn. Why didn't you say so afore?"

Charley says he is not mourning; in fact, he feels particularly happy; not like playing, that is all; he don't know what in the —— he tries to say devil, but he only says dence, is the reason. Then he says the cigar smoke hurts his eyes, and he walks to the back window, and looks out a long time.

Hands are thrown up, and a new game is ranged between Mr. Wardell and Black, the watch of the one being staked against the gray mare of the other. The middle-aged man hitches his chair toward the jockey, and prepares to watch him, as a cat does the mouse.

"Go in t'other apartment, and help yourself to something comfortable," calls Wardell to Charley; "what's a use a looking out there, when all the flowers have got their eyes shet."

Charley says he is not looking at anything particular; he is thinking how the game will go; and keeping his face toward the wall, he goes noiselessly out of the room, stirs the fire, and sits down. The cat jumps from the window, and rubs her back against his legs, but he does not notice her; and the snow drifts down before the lights of the window, and lodges white on the sash, but he seems not to see it, nor does he see the young woman who stops, and for a moment looks earnestly upon him. The wind rumbles through the loose clapboards, and moans and blows, and drives its way through confined alleys and along the open street, and his thoughts are carried away in it to the comfortable homestead, where his father and mother live, and where, the golden ripples of her hair falling down her pillow, his young innocent sister is lying, fast asleep—dreaming of him, perhaps—of the mellow red apples, and the streaked juicy apples, he was used to bring home from the orchard to her—of the nuts they have gathered together in the windy autumn woods—(how dark and dreary, and snowy, they lie now!) or it may be, of the shining bundles on the threshing-floor, which many a time she has helped him to unbind. He can see her smiling as she dreams, and he can almost feel her soft hand in his, and believe himself picking his way among the flowers that quite hide the green grass with their beauty, all through the hollow where the orchard ends and the sloping cow pasture begins, her little bare feet tripping lightly along, and leaving the flat dandelions scarcely more flat behind her steps than before them—the sheep, with their crooked-horned leaders in front, run timidly before them—the crow flaps past, and calling as he goes, away from the black stub, and the hawk lifts his brown wings a little higher above them, while bluebird and blackbird whistle and twitter in the low boughs close by. He feels the wind softly winding about his neck, and playing with his hair, and he wonders if it is the same wind that growls and rumbles and whistles brokenly, as if it had forgotten the old times, now; and then he wonders if he is the same boy that used to go to bed at eight o'clock, and sleep so well till the roosters awoke him, and the red and yellow daybreak was widening above the eastern woods. All seems so quiet and beautiful, he cannot understand if he be the same boy that used to plough and mow, and sing as he ploughed and mowed—how it came about that he is sitting in this dingy and vile-smelling grocery. He looks at his feet, to see if they be the ones that used to brush up the sweetness from the red and white clover in the morning meadows; and then he opens his hands, brown and hard, and asks them, in thought, if they be the hands that shook down the apples, and dipped up the sweet cider, and gathered the blackberries, and swung his little sister in the grape-vine swing under the green maple tree. Was it a maple tree, or a walnut? He can't tell, nor whether it was on the hill-top, or half down the side. A confusion swims through his head, and he almost thinks he is not the same, when he hears, close by, a market wagon jolting along the rough stones. He turns his face to the light, and watches for its approach; the oil lamp in the window spits, and blazes brighter for a moment, and he distinctly sees the team go by—the heads of the horses are drooping, and they pull hard, loosening the harness on their sides, as they strain forward. He sees a blue streak on the flank of the one next him, where the chain has rubbed so hard and so long—they are not too well fed, he feels, and the load behind them is too much for their strength, for the wagon creaks, and the wheels turn up and turn down, heavily, slowly. In the front of the uncovered wagon he sees an old man, sitting, his hands without mittens, and the snow falling and melting on his homespun drab-colored great coat; and he shudders to think of the chill it may impart, for the old man is his father.

Again he ejaculates, "O Lord!" but in a lower voice than before—a voice that scarcely, in truth, comes up out of his heart; and so, leaning his head on his hand, he straightens the temple of his life, for he knows now that he is Charles Heighway, the boy who used to rise so early and work so hard. He don't see the bluebirds, nor the clover, nor feel the soft wind—he thinks this he hears to-night is the same he used to be acquainted with; but he feels the hot, burning sunshine as he swings the heavy cradle through the wheat—his hands blistered, and his coarse shirt wringing with sweat. He sees the Sabbath come, and in all the neighbor fields the sickles and the scythes hung up, but himself still stooping and swinging, or mowing away the rough bundles that now and then brush in his face, close under the almost blazing shingles of the barn. He sees the same scanty meals of pork and potatoes set before him, and before him, till he loathes the provision, and longs for a change. And his mother he sees, too tired to smile, and too anxious for getting more, to enjoy what is got. He sees the basket of blackberries he has brought home, moulding and wasting, because there is no time to make pies, and no sugar to spare. And he sees the golden ripples of his sister's hair pulled straight, and twisted under a horn comb, and herself rubbing and scrubbing, who should be at school. He sees, plainly, the unplastered garret where he slept, and the wooden pegs where his coarse, unfashionable clothing hung. He can hear the echoes of the axe that felled the oak—knottiest and hardest of all—and feel the aching soreness in his arm, as he thinks of the heavy and splintered maul. He cannot see the roses, now—not even the sweet-briar that curtains his sister's window; but he sees the burdock growing high and bitter, the red, shining pokestalks, and the many other profitless weeds that used to grow in his father's door-yard. The rumble of his sister's spinning-wheel is in his ears; bunches of white and gray rolls hang in the window, next the sun; and now and then a care-worn and unsmiling face looks out, and he leans on his hoe-handle for a moment, in the hope she is going to call him home to supper; for his dusty feet almost refuse to drag along, and his fingers are aching and bleeding with the briars that are stuck under the nails; but the face disappears directly, and the spinning-wheel rumbles on anew; and, with a grotesque shadow lengthening away behind him, he digs his hard row. He remembers the times he used to come to town, with hay and potatoes, and how everybody seemed to live easily but himself, and thinks of the contrasts he made, as he drove home the tired horses through the clouds of dust—a little money in his pocket, that was not *his* money; how tired and discouraged and hungry he used to be, as he stood all day in the market-place—the flies eating his horses, and his heart eating itself. He remembers the last day, not many months ago, on which he set out for market the last time; he had a load of oats to sell—a large load. He remembers all about it right well, and he feels something of the old rebellion rising up, as he thinks how his father that day told him, angrily, the old hat was good enough, as he asked for money to buy a new one.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

A Kansas Judge Shot in the Foot.—The Kickapoo *Pioneer*, K. T., of October 8, says:

"On Saturday last, while Judge S. G. Cato and a friend were examining a pistol, it was accidentally discharged, the ball taking effect in Judge Cato's foot. The wound is a painful one, and has disabled the Judge, so as to prevent his attending to his official duties for some time."

To the Editor of the National Era:

That beautiful Poem, "The Angel of my Youth is Dead," by Mary Clemmer Ames, is so exceedingly sad, that I cannot refrain from sending you the following lines, with the hope you will give them a place in your much-valued paper.

FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

The angel of my youth forever liveth,
An angel fair and bright;
And to my darkened way her radiance giveth
A sweet and holy light.

A garland of white lilies, wreathed and stainless,
Binds up her shining hair;
The beauty of a life all joy and painless,
Dwells on her forehead fair.

Her lustrous eyes, with a new glory beaming,
Still bend on me in love;
She cherisheth *in Heaven* our earthly dreamings,
To be fulfilled above.

Oh, often at the tender, star-lit hour,
I hear her harp's rich strain,
And think she leaves her fair, immortal bower,
To soothe away my pain.

And when my heart grows weary with earth's sadness,
The memory of her love
Comes to me with a sense of grateful gladness,
That she is mine above.

Thus from my heart's sad desolation springeth
A joy of sorrow born;
And he who wrestles with his Maker, winneth
A promise of the morn.

This life is but a shadow which shall vanish,
And the *true* life will come;
When from my side no longer death shall vanish
The angel of my home.

Delphine Taylor.

Adrian, Mich., September, 1856.

For the National Era.

FASHIONABLE FOOTPRINTS.

BY MRS. BELL SMITH.

Part IX.

The Newport season was at an end. The cold winds, giving token of coming winter, swept over the foaming beach and round the deserted hotels. The gay multitude had fled far to the South, where soft air wooed flowers into bloom; to the West, where the last crimson leaves were falling; North and East, wide apart, and variously occupied, were the many we so lately saw thronging the great halls of the favorite resort. Even the servants were gone. A few still lingered about the vacant rooms, pretending an occupation by whirling idly a broom, or idly lounging about the fire-place. How changed was every once familiar article—how very desolate country, town, and beach.

Two of our friends yet remained—Albert Pinckney and his sister—the one, yet an invalid; the other, nurse. The wound in his shoulder had proved serious, and his recovery slow. He was now, however, able to sit up, and, when the weather was fair, walk or ride out. These pleasant days which sometimes surprise us, almost after the winter claims her own, were frequent, and favorable to the wounded. He found infinite relief from the tedium of a sick room by pacing the shore, leaning on his sister's arm, and followed by the ever-faithful John. The very solitude was grateful. One of these pleasant days, just as the sun was sinking in a blaze of glory, they were surprised by the appearance of two persons, who rapidly approached them. The exclamations of delight were simultaneous, as Albert and his sister recognised Juliet and Mrs. Colburn.

"Why, this is a meeting," he said, "that nearly takes one's breath."

"Yes," said Mrs. Colburn, "it is somewhat astonishing, even to us. But Juliet could not pass within a hundred miles of Newport without a look at it."

"I wanted to see how the place would appear when deserted," exclaimed Juliet. "We are going to Niagara in the winter; why not come to Newport, with snows and without a crowd?"

Mrs. Colburn, with Juliet and servants, remained at the Ocean House over a week; although, save a few visits from residents, it would be difficult to say where the attraction could be found to detain them. Juliet was willful. They had been visiting the White Mountains and Canada, and returning, Juliet insisted upon another and most unseasonable visit to Newport. She had not heard that Albert and his sister were there still—nor is it likely, had she known it, that it would have changed her determination. How would Newport look in winter, and deserted? was a question which seemed to haunt her.

The pleasant days, with their calm sunny afternoons, continued, and our invalid made rapid progress in the many walks along the level sands. One evening, calm and cool, Albert and Juliet found themselves almost alone, for Mrs. Colburn and Margaret, earnestly in conversation, had wandered from them. They were silent; they had been silent for many days. It is astonishing how mute we become on certain occasions. With Mrs. Colburn and Margaret in the group, the conversation was animated—Albert eloquent; but the moment they were left together, silence seized upon them. The next day they were to part, and Albert had much to say—not that to this moment had he thought of making love to the fair girl, but the feeling was there, and was prompting a world of eloquence. He delayed the utterance again and again, until ashamed of himself, he said:

"So, to-morrow, we all separate again." It was a common enough sentence, yet uttered with so much hesitation and constraint that Juliet made no reply. With an effort, he continued, "This beach, so solitary now, has witnessed many partings, but I doubt whether one fraught with so much feeling as this."

In his first sentence, he had said too little; in his last, too much. Still, Juliet said nothing, but looked at the sands, walking slowly by his side. Then followed a long pause, which Albert again broke by saying, quite foreign to his last, and looking where

"Along the level sands the sea
Was rolling soft and dreamily"—

"The breaking waves are more beautiful, so are breaking hearts, when they belong to poets."

What made him say that was puzzling, and so Juliet puzzled with never a word in response. He continued—

"A short time since, I would have parted with the busy throng upon this beach with scarcely a thought, certainly without a regret; but now the separation gives me pain. We all go to-morrow our various ways. Shall we ever meet again?"

Juliet, still silent, looked on the sands, and they slowly walked along.

"I am very egotistical in thus pressing so unimportant an event upon your consideration; but, to me—I feel—how very near"——

The fact is, Mr. Albert Pinckney was uttering a great deal of nonsense in a very confused way, and I have for him too much regard to place it on paper. It was the unpremeditated expression of feeling too strong for words—and so it is. And let me say to all little maidens who have yet to hear the so-important proposition, to doubt all calm, eloquent, well-expressed declarations. It is the best evidence that the feeling is not genuine—at least, not weighty—the light-winged words carry it along too easily—the orator is thinking more of himself than the object of his adoration—more of his poetical essay than of the response on which is to hang a life's destiny.

Albert came stumbling to an end. The day was deepening into twilight—the stars, steadily shining in the sky, were trembling in the clasp of waves—as Albert's strong love found answer in the troubled heart of Juliet; and, as he turned from the golden west, he saw upon her cheek a crimson glow, less deep, but more delicate—while the bright eyes were still fixed upon the sands. What need of words—although words came, and were heard; what need of a response—although, after a long time, a response came in a little monosyllable, so softly uttered that it was rather felt than heard.

So ends Juliet at Newport. I sat down to make a brief record of a season at that fascinating resort, more for the purpose, by a few unconnected sketches, of giving some knowledge of its life, than telling any story. Whether I have succeeded in the one, I feel that I have certainly failed in the other; and whoever has had sufficient patience to read, will exclaim, at the end, "Well, what of it?"

I cannot, in reply, say that these are my friends, or that I have been impelled onward by personal recollections, which make my few dry pages, to me, quick with life. Yet such is the truth; and it seems strange, when I remember how I began with that busy life about me, and now I end them in a foreign land, and am called upon to note the many changes time has wrought. Of that circle of friends, few remain; for the pale messenger of Death has called one after the other, while to the small number yet with us, what changes have come! Note, for example, O'Halloran, the merriest at the wedding of Juliet; for he had, Irishman-like, transferred all his love to the peerless Margaret, and, stranger still, found favor in the eyes of our stately friend. But a complete record of subsequent events would require more space than the sketches themselves. So no more.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Gov. Wise.—A few days since, in conversation with a Northern gentleman on the political state of the country, he stated the position of affairs thus: "We have no fears of Northern Abolitionists. We can take care of *them.* But what we have to fear is an insurrection among ourselves." "What!" said the other, "an insurrection of the *blacks?*" "No," said the Governor, "but of the poor whites." This remark he explained by saying, that he should not be surprised if a bill were introduced into the next Legislature of Virginia, to restrict the slaves from learning the mechanic arts, with the design to restore these trades to the poor whites.

Cotton and Slavery.—The friends of the abolition of Slavery in the United States are indebted to the *Journal des Debats* for a powerful article on the subject, which is rather too long for your space. Suffice it to say that the writer traces all the evils of the system, all the dangers with which the Union is menaced, and the constant annoyance to which Europe is exposed, to the growth of cotton. As the cotton plant exhausts the finest soil in five years, the fields must be constantly extended; to extend those fields, new provinces must be annexed, and Slavery proportionally spread. If the evils of Slavery are ever to be eradicated, cotton must be grown for English account in her own colonies. In the mean time, a serious crisis, according to the writer, threatens the Union, and even the peace of the world.

Paris Cor. Morning Herald.

Number of the Stars.—Of the stars, thousands are visible to the naked eye, and millions are discovered by the telescope. Sir John Herschell calculates that about five and a half millions of stars are visible enough to be distinctly counted in a twenty-feet reflector in both hemispheres, and thinks that the actual number is much greater. His illustrious father estimated on one occasion that one hundred and twenty-five thousand stars passed through the field of his forty-foot reflector in a quarter of an hour. This would give twelve millions for the entire circuit of the heavens in a single telescopic zone; and this estimate was made under the the assumption that the nebulæ were masses of luminous matter, not yet condensed suns. But with the increase of instrumental power, especially under the mighty grasp of Lord Rosse's gigantic reflector and the great reflectors at Pulkova and Cambridge, the most irresolvable of these nebulæ have given way; and the better opinion now is, that every one of them is a galaxy, like our own milky way, composed of millions of suns.

To Indurate Marble or Stone.—Melt pure wax in a clean ladle, and with a soft brush cover the marble with two or more coats. When perfectly congealed, hold a red-hot iron plate just near enough to cause the wax to sink into the marble. Stone or marble thus treated will never lose its color, and if white will remain so. If the stone or marble should become soiled with dirt and smoke, it may be washed without the slightest injury. This encaustic process is applicable to both stucco and plaster casts, which latter may then be freely exposed to the weather with perfect safety. It is strongly recommended by Vitruvius, Pliny, and other old writers on such subjects, and is one of the secrets of the long preservation of the painted decorations of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

A New Zeal for the Pulpit.—The professed friends of a pure Gospel, and the sanctity of the pulpit, have become unexpectedly numerous of late. Earnest and loud-talking advocates of these inestimable blessings are to be found in unimagined quarters. The Legrees and Tom Gordons of the South seem to have struck hands with the low and the profane of the North, in demanding that Christ's Gospel, without subtraction or addition, shall be preached in all the pulpits of the land! Who would have thought that such a reform could find its most zealous advocates at the headquarters of political clubs, in the engine-houses of city fire companies, and the vilest grog-shops of the metropolis? And what a time the churches will have of it, when the crowds from these interesting places of resort shall give the finishing touch to their sincerity, by becoming the reverent hearers of a pure Gospel?

Examiner, (Baptist.)

A widower who resided in the neighborhood of Bristol, (England,) having three children, married a widow with a like complement of olive-branches; and, after they had been married six years, they further added to the combined family by three of their own, making in all nine. When one of the "tuneful nine" was overheard making a noise in the house, it was no uncommon thing for the husband to say, "That's yours, Mrs. A." Presently another cry would be heard, when Mrs. A. would retort by exclaiming, "That's yours, Mr. A." A third young urchin would then give tongue, when Mr. and Mrs. A. would exclaim with one voice, "That's ours."

Shaking Hands.—Two duellists having exchanged shots without effect, one of the seconds interfered, and proposed that the parties should shake hands. To this the other second objected as unnecessary; "for," said he, "their hands have been shaking this half hour."

The Retort Uncourteous.—A few days ago, a gentleman was summoned to the Court of Requests, when the learned commissioner, through some confused notion that he was the proprietor of a public house, asked defendant if his wife was at the bar? The defendant answered that she was too young, but, as several *old women* had been called to it, he thought his wife might yet aspire to that high honor.

Liverpool paper.

The Highest Mountain in the World.—The principal topic of conversation at Calcutta is the discovery of the highest mountain in the world. At the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 6th August, Major Thuillier announced that Col. Waugh, Surveyor General of India, had completed his computations of the positions and elevations of the peaks of the Himalayas. The result was, to depose the mountain Kanchinjinga from its throne as the highest point on the earth's surface. That distinction belongs for the present to a peak 100 miles from Kanchinjinga, and between that mountain and Kanmandoo. This peak is ascertained to be 29,002 feet above the sea level; Kanchinjinga is 28,156 feet; and Dewalagiri, the mountain which "school geographies" persist in calling "the highest mountain in the known world," is only 26,826 feet. The mountain has no name intelligible to civilized men, and Col. Waugh has therefore ventured to denominate it "Mount Everest," after a former Surveyor General.

Value of the Union.—We extract the following from an editorial article in the N. Y. *Courier and Enquirer:*

Though the South furnishes but little if any over one-twentieth of the revenues from duties, the following was the cost of custom-house buildings at the North and South, up to November, 1855:

Free States	$8,213,595
Slave States	6,672,000
Total cost of custom-houses	$14,885,595

The marble building in New York, constructed and used for that purpose, cost complete $1,250,000; the one at New Orleans cost $2,700,000, and is yet unfinished. The collections at New York are $45,000,000 per annum; at New Orleans they are $2,000,000. The custom-house at Charleston, under construction, will cost $1,750,000. The collections there may average $250,000 a year.

Nearly $2,000,000 a year are annually appropriated at Washington, for public buildings and grounds. Five millions are disbursed and distributed there. This is right, and we hope the Government will go on, as it is doing, to build up a magnificent capital there. But it is not the less true, that the situation is claimed as slave territory, and as belonging to the South.

The Fortification bill of 1854 was thus divided:

For Northern works	$440,000
For Southern works	570,000

In the same year, the light-house appropriations were—

For the Northern coast	$607,000
For the Southern coast	845,000

The amount of property on the seaboard subject to attacks from a foreign foe at the North, is probably ten to one as compared to that of the South. Our recollection is, that the act making appropriations for the continuance of fortifications during this current year provides—

For Northern works	$300,000
For Southern works	1,400,000

Not having the act at hand, the above items, comprising its aggregates, may not be quite correct; but the proportion indicated is nearly accurate.

The appropriations for 1854, now before us, were $65,107,000, of which $10,000,000 were for a purely sectional and worthless object, namely: in payment for the Mesilla Territory, purchased to make a slave State, and found to be good for nothing at all.

Sale of a Slave.—*An Incident in New Orleans.*—The New Orleans *Bulletin* of the 20th inst. says: Passing through the Arcade saloon, we noticed at one of the auction stands a negro girl up for sale, and around a closely packed crowd that appeared to be deeply interested in what was going on. Curiosity led us to pause and inquire what was the cause of the apparent excitement. The bids were going on in a very spirited manner, and generally at an advance of only five dollars at a bid, and at every bid the eyes of the crowd would quickly turn in the direction whence the bids proceeded, the interest and excitement being, in the mean time, upon the increase. The girl, a bright, intelligent mulattress, about fourteen years old, was evidently not indifferent to what was transpiring. There was no moisture in her eyes, but they assumed an expression which indicated that she felt some anxiety in regard to the result of the sale, which is not generally the case. As the bids reached near a thousand dollars, the excitement became intense; and as that figure was called, a spontaneous hiss was heard throughout the room, followed by a vehement shout of "Turn him out!" "Turn him out!" A rush was made for the door, the hammer had fallen, and the girl also, into the arms of—her mother, who had become her purchaser. The explanation of it all was, that the woman had been freed by her owner, and had earned money enough to buy her child—the mulattress in question; and being a very valuable servant, several persons were anxious to obtain her, but all of them, with one exception, had pledged the mother that they would not bid against her, and they honorably kept their faith.

It was the conduct of this one, who was bidding against the mother, which so excited and exasperated the crowd on the occasion. The man made good his escape; fortunately so for him, we think, as we heard sundry expressions about "lynching," &c., as the crowd came back to talk over the matter. The mother was so much affected by the joy of having succeeded in retaining possession of her child, that she swooned away, and was carried out of the saloon. We may add, that the sale was a succession sale, and was not designed to be anything more than nominal, and nobody intended that the mother should be deprived of her child.

The following clever impromptu lines addressed to a lady, and accompanied by a present of a riding whip, are taken from the *National Intelligencer:*

I send you the whip, though your spirited Bess,
Rarely needs to be urged, I dare say;
(If appealed to *herself* on a question like this,
Do you think that she wouldn't say *neigh?*)

But gauntlets, long skirts, and a hat with a plume,
In short, *a full habit* must need,
To make it, as we say in French, *comme il faut,*
A whip, or a something in*steed.*

So I send you the nearest approach to the thing
That as yet I've been able to see;
But pray, when you use it, if any should ask
Who gave it, *don't lay it on me!*

R. S. C.

The Florence correspondent of the Newark *Advertiser* says: "Our countryman, Powers, has invented a new tool, which promises to supersede altogether the present *file*, by doing all its work easier, better, and cheaper. This instrument, originally invented to facilitate his operations in sculpture, has now been adapted to all the uses of the file, in metals, ivory, bone, wood, leathers, &c., and will, moreover, take the place of the grater in the kitchen. The inventor has devised a compact machine for producing it in great numbers with the least possible expense; and when the castings now in progress are completed, it will be brought into use, doubtless to the great profit of all parties."

Growth of New Orleans.—The commerce of New Orleans, for the past year, has been larger than for any previous year. We also learn from the *Crescent*, that a large number of buildings are in the course of erection in that city, involving an expenditure of more than two millions of dollars. Among them are two splendid churches, two orphan asylums, one Jewish and one Catholic, a Mechanics' Institute, one Medical School, a Jewish Synagogue, a cotton press to cost $150,000, a house for James Robb, to cost $75,000, several other houses costing from $12,000 to $35,000 each, and a large number of stores, costing from $10,000 to $20,000 each. The new custom-house will not be completed in several years. It will cost $3,250,000. We are happy to record such unmistakable evidences of the prosperity of New Orleans, one of the most patriotic and enterprising of the American cities.

Melancholy Accident.—A melancholy case of suffering, resulting from roughness in play, is related in the Boston papers. It seems that some six months ago, a bright, intelligent little fellow, some fourteen years of age, son of a respectable mechanic in East Boston, was playing, after school, with a boy somewhat larger than himself, when the larger boy ran against him violently, and struck the toe of his boot against the outer ankle-joint of the smaller boy. The wound was at first apparently a slight one, but soon it began to grow serious, and the little fellow was confined to his bed. There he has remained for six or seven months, suffering the most extreme agony, and the bone of his leg to above the knee having decayed, rendered it at last necessary to amputate it, as the only possibility by which his life could be saved.

Mechanic Improvements.—An improvement in cloth-printing machines is the substitution of air-tight, flexible color rollers, filled with liquid, for the ordinary endless cloth. A patent wooden car-wheel is coming into use in England; it is formed of sections of strong timber, so interlocked that the centrifugal force cannot separate them; the first cost is greater than that of iron, but they are declared more durable and safer. Pulverized cocoanut shells are now mixed with gutta-percha, rendering it more durable, and diminishing the cost.

Disgorging a Lizard.—Last week, John Mitchell, of the town of Chemung, was taken with a fit of vomiting, and finally disgorged from his stomach a lizard, near nine inches long! He had drunk several potations of whisky, together with three quarts of milk, that day, and it is supposed that the lizard got drunk on milk-punch—hence his getting so high as to come out of his lodgments. The lizard is supposed to have been swallowed some four years since, as about that time Mr. Mitchell inhaled something while at a "deer lick," which has caused a slight debility of the stomach ever since.—*Elmira Gazette.*

THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE COMPARED.

From the Charleston Standard, October 28.

The question is, not what has been the accidental features of the trade, but what are its essential conditions; and these, we believe, are as conservative of the well-being of the negro as the most enlightened philanthropist could require.

Nor, in fact, is even this the precise question. The slave trade exists, and as long as there is a want for slaves in the South and West, it will continue. At present they are torn from homes in Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina, and the question is, should they not rather be brought from Africa? From thence they can be brought with less inhumanity than a laboring population can ever be taken from one country to another, and infinitely less than characterizes the trade between the States. They come with the rupture of no pre-existing ties. They come from the depths of barbarism to the very brightest light of civilization—from destitution to abundance—from social mortality to usefulness and life—and they come to the support and advancement of our existing institutions. Coming from this source, they will exclude from market the slaves of Maryland and Virginia—they will render it incumbent upon masters there to find permanent employment for their own slaves, and defeating them of the ability to pass through profit in the domestic slave trade to a profit in philanthropy, will fix those States in permanent support of Southern institutions.

Nor, in fact, if there be greater inhumanity in the foreign than in the domestic slave trade, do we, upon present modes of reasoning, incur a share of it by opening our ports to foreign slaves? We feel relieved from any odium attached to the domestic slave trade, because we do not engage in it ourselves. We only buy the slave from the trader, as we would buy him from a neighbor, and are not to know the means through which he comes; and, for the very same reason, we may be equally unconcerned about the horrors of the slave trade. We have only to open our ports to foreign slaves, and the merchants of England and the North will readily incur the odium of bringing them to us. If the trade can be legitimated in the tribunals of international law, they will bring them with every consideration for their health and comfort, dictated by an enlightened perception of their interests; but if not legitimated, they will run the gauntlet of every squadron of observation that can be put upon the coast of Africa. They will bring them to us, right or wrong, as fast as we will be ready to receive them. And the capital and enterprise of England and the North, finding profitable employment in this business, it is not improbable that both people will come to look upon it with indulgence, and, ceasing to war against the trade, may cease to war against the institution.

So long, therefore, as Slavery is right, and it is right to buy and sell slaves, there is no wrong in the foreign slave trade, and every consideration of policy is in favor of it; but if it be wrong—if it have no vitality and no inheritance, but is to be tolerated only until it can be laid aside—then every act of sale or purchase is a wrong. It may be difficult to see how even the introduction of a slave can give us the right to hold him, if he be the member of a race which has a native right to freedom: but admitting this, it can confer no right to sell him; much less can the inheritance of a slave by one person confer the right upon another to buy and hold him. At last, we have to meet the question face to face. We must determine that, in the nature of things, there may be unequal races; that, in the nature of things, such unequal races may co-exist; that it is right to promote as well as perpetuate such co-existence; and, so determining, we must be as ready to take the slave from Africa as from any other section of our own country, and be influenced in our choice by a simple consideration of its policy.

UNION TO DEFEAT BUCHANAN.

LETTER FROM THE HON. JOHN M. BOTTS.

Richmond, *October* 28, 1856.

My Dear Sir: I am quite familiar already with the condition of parties in Pennsylvania, and I deplore it as profoundly as any man in the country; and if I could persuade myself that I could exercise the influence you ascribe to me, I would allow neither public engagements nor private convenience to detain me for an hour at home. But I fear that I could not, and that the attempt itself might be regarded as presumptuous and officious.

This much I have no hesitation in saying—that it has been, and is, entirely incomprehensible to me how any reflecting and intelligent man, who earnestly desires the election of Mr. Fillmore, can hesitate for a moment in voting the Union ticket, by which means he makes sure of votes enough to defeat Mr. Buchanan, and send Mr. Fillmore to the House, where, from first to last, his only chance for an election has rested. Every vote given for the straight-out Fillmore ticket in Pennsylvania is a vote thrown away; it does him no more good than if each separate vote were given for some other and separate man; whereas, if given for the Union ticket, it must secure to him an electoral vote in proportion to the popular vote given for him.

I impute unworthy motives to nobody, but I must say there is something in this movement on the part of the friends of Mr. Fillmore that does not appear on the surface, and is utterly beyond my capacity to comprehend, assuming, as I do, that it is all done for honest and upright purposes.

I cannot for my life see that any event is so well calculated to foster and encourage the spirit of disunion, that has been openly advocated by the leaders of the Buchanan party, as to place the Government for the next four years in the hands of the Nullifiers, Secessionists, and Disunionists of the South. If that spirit is not sternly rebuked by the indignant voice of the people next week, by the defeat of Mr. Buchanan, (although I shall not relax my exertions to save it,) yet I must say this people will have manifested such utter disregard for the continuance of the Union, as that its friends will everywhere feel disappointed and dismayed, and to a great extent disarmed for future exertions.

I consider the responsibility for the security of our institutions, and for our future devotion to the Union, as resting singly and alone on the shoulders of the Fillmore men of Pennsylvania, who have it in their power to roll back the tide that is setting strongly in favor of its destruction, by overwhelming the advocates of dissolution with discomfiture, defeat, and disgrace.

I pray God that they will have the courage, the manliness, and the patriotism, to rise superior to all party and political jealousies, and strike a blow for their country on Tuesday next, that will bring dismay to the hearts of all the traitors and disunionists in our free and yet happy country. Here we are ready to do our duty; it remains to be seen whether our friends in Pennsylvania will throw an obstacle in the path of victory. I am, very truly, yours,

John M. Botts.

——, *Philadelphia.*

POLITICAL CALENDAR.

By an act of Congress, approved by President Washington, March 1, 1792, it is provided that the electors shall meet and give their votes on the first Wednesday in December in every fourth year, (Dec. 3, 1856,) and make three certified lists thereof; one of which lists is to be transmitted by a special message to the President of the Senate at Washington; another by mail; and the third to be deposited with the Judge of the District Court. If the vote of any State should not have been received at the seat of Government on or before the first Wednesday in January, (Jan. 7, 1857,) it is made the duty of the Secretary of State to send a messenger for the copy deposited with the District Judge. At the present election, it is not possible that the vote of California may be thus delayed.

On the second Wednesday in February, (Feb. 11, 1857,) Congress being in session, the votes are to be counted by the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, as required by the Constitution. And on Wednesday, March 4, 1857, the term of the new President begins.

Thus the popular election takes place in November—the Electoral Colleges vote in December—their votes are collected at Washington in January—are opened and counted in February—and the term of the new President begins in March.

Each State is entitled to as many electors as it has members in both Houses of Congress. As there are 234 Representatives and 62 Senators, the whole number of electors is accordingly 296, apportioned among the States as follows:

Sixteen Free States.		*Fifteen Slave States.*	
Maine	8	Delaware	3
New Hampshire	5	Maryland	8
Vermont	5	Virginia	15
Massachusetts	13	North Carolina	10
Rhode Island	4	South Carolina	8
Connecticut	6	Georgia	10
New York	35	Florida	3
New Jersey	7	Alabama	9
Pennsylvania	27	Mississippi	7
Ohio	23	Louisiana	6
Indiana	13	Texas	4
Illinois	11	Tennessee	12
Michigan	6	Kentucky	12
Wisconsin	5	Missouri	9
Iowa	4	Arkansas	4
California	4		
		Total	120
Total	176	Grand Total	296
Necessary to a choice			149

DANGER OF WEARING HOOPS IN HIGH WIND.

From the Detroit Advertiser.

During the wind on Saturday afternoon, and while the dust was circulating so thick that no one could see more than the length of an eyelash in front, a lady, dressed in the most elegant style, in coming round one of the corners, was lifted off her feet by the force of the wind acting on the great expanse of surface which she presented to it. The wind unfortunately did not set her down in the same position in which she was before being taken up, but, turning her gently on one side, it laid her endwise on the sidewalk, where she commenced a series of astonishing gyrations, rolling over and over on the hoops of the skirts, and exhibiting a species of locomotion which is not yet generally appreciated, and which may come into fashion, with high winds and large circlets of light material. As the lady thus rolled over and over, several persons were knocked down and passed over by the lady and the hoops, without ever knowing that anything had hurt them. Fortunately for the lady, the dust and the astonishment of the people out of doors permitted but few to witness this new method of getting along in a stiff breeze, and keeping up full sail at the same time. As we came round a corner, we found the lady wedged between a lamp-post and a hydrant, and immediately assisted her to an upright instead of a recumbent position.

GUANO REDIVIVUS.

From the Journal of Commerce.

We learn that the American Guano Company has dispatched an agent to the Pacific, with instructions to bring to Panama a load of Guano from either of the islands which it recently brought to the notice of the public, in connection with the visit of Commodore Mervine in the United States ship *Independence;* and arrangements have been made with the Panama Railroad Company to forward the same, at the rate of five dollars per ton. In case of success, such as is anticipated, it is thought this route will be the channel for future importations, as vessels can make three voyages a year from the islands to Panama, instead of one to New-York; and an inferior class of vessels can be employed, compared with such as would be required for the voyage around Cape Horn. The agent goes to San Francisco, with means to procure a suitable vessel, and is directed to proceed thence to the Sandwich Islands, where he is to take on board the necessary implements, (already provided,) and ship a crew of twenty Kanakas, selected by Dr. Judd, whose son is to accompany the expedition. The officers in the company are not in the least discouraged by what transpired in connection with Commodore Mervine's visit to the guano islands. The following are extracts of letters from Dr. G. P. Judd, Sandwich Islands, to A. G. Benson, New York:

"Honolulu, *July* 24, 1856.

"Captain Prentice (who went out a few months ago in the *Corea*, as agent of the American Guano Company) is here, waiting to hear from his friends, and determined not to move until he does hear. He seems rather sanguine—not too much so—and is a very quiet, excellent man. He and I are of opinion, that in working the Guano, these Sandwich Islands ought to be headquarters for supplies and laborers. Vessels bringing out cargoes might return with freights of guano, from here and from San Francisco, touching here to take in water, &c., for the people on the island."

From the same:

"Honolulu, *Aug.* 25, 1856.

"Captain Prentice is still here—says his friends advise him to wait for further information. He will not leave at present, and may procure a ship and go after a cargo to the Islands. That depends upon the report of the *Independence*, and the advice he gets from his friends at home. He has just been to visit me, and says he now regrets he did not do as I advised, viz: hire a schooner when he first came, and go for a cargo to be shipped from here. He could land with natives in any weather."

GUANO PROSPECTS.

It will be seen, by a paragraph which we copy from the *Journal of Commerce*, that the American Guano Company was not quite crushed out by the report of Commodore Mervine, that, as he didn't look, he couldn't find any newly-discovered Guano Islands in the Pacific Ocean. It will be remembered that Congress, at its last session, passed a law authorizing and directing the President to take possession, in behalf of the United States, of uninhabited Guano Islands discovered by American citizens. In accordance with the spirit of the act, which devolves reciprocal obligations upon discoverers who desire the benefit of this legislation, we learn that the President has required the American Guano Company to enter into bonds for the fulfillment of their part of the stipulations. This request has been formally complied with. Consequently, the Company may be considered to have completed all the steps necessary to

insure the permanence of their rights in the newly-discovered islands.

The evidences are abundant, and to all appearances entirely reliable, that these islands really contain large deposits of this valuable fertilizer. In a few months, at latest, we may expect to receive further evidence, in the shape of cargoes of the material itself. The whole country is deeply interested in the success of this enterprise, which can hardly fail to largely increase the crops in all the Atlantic States, by furnishing a more abundant supply of an article which is every year more and more a necessity to the agricultural interest. It is exceedingly unfortunate that the carelessness or perversity of Commodore Marvine thwarted Secretary Dobbin's purpose of giving to the world an authentic survey of the American guano islands. But why will not the Secretary order this duty performed by some more enterprising officer, in a vessel better adapted to the purpose than the Commodore's steam frigate? Surely the small force required could nowhere else be employed to better advantage.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1856.

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and E, one square south of City Post Office.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

A great many bills go out in this week's *Era*. Will our subscribers look out for them. Take care that they do not slip out, unnoticed. They should receive immediate attention. The work of renewing our list every year is onerous. Every paper is stopped where the subscription is not forwarded in advance. If agents are slow in calling upon you, don't wait, but renew your own subscription. Examine the terms below.

We hope our Campaign Subscribers will continue with us. The *Era* is now just as important to them as ever.

CANNOT DO IT!

A friend suggests, that if we could only put the *Era* at $1 a year, the list could be doubled. Very likely; but, if trebled or quadrupled at such a price, it would be ruin to us. Once for all, we say, the *Era* at $1 a year would not pay its necessary expenses. The *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Post*, are furnished to clubs of 20, to one address, at $1, but only because the ample advertisements in their Dailies more than cover the loss thus sustained. We have no such advertisements; and as to the advertisements of the Executive Departments, they are denied to us in violation of law. Besides, as we have often said, the cost of printing in Washington is higher than in any other city in the Union. Not a cent less can we take than the terms printed below. If the friends of Freedom and Free Labor cannot come up to these, in support of such a paper as the *Era*, the only one representing Republican principles at the Capital of the Nation, there is no use in attempting to support any such paper here. If newspapers elsewhere will answer all the demands of the cause, be it so. Let the ground that we have gained here, at this central and commanding point, be abandoned—abandoned because the *Era* cannot be afforded in clubs at $1, instead of $1.50. The masses have elevated ideas of the importance of our movement. Who, for the sake of fifty cents a year, will consent to the abandonment of a paper which pioneers the way to Free Discussion in the District of Columbia, and is the only organ in Washington City, on the soil of Slavery, through which the representatives of Freedom can be heard and vindicated?

Meantime, we ask nobody to subscribe for the *Era*, who thinks he can spend his money to better purpose elsewhere. So long as it shall be generously supported by those who know its worth, we shall continue it. If the time come when it shall fail to command a sufficient support through its legitimate subscriptions, and a sufficient circulation to make it a positive, decided quantity in politics, we shall stop it, and leave the field here to be monopolized by the organs of the Pro-Slavery Interest. Our friends must undergo a great change before that event can happen.

Hitherto the *Era* has commanded a far larger permanent circulation than has ever been secured by any newspaper in Washington city, of course a much more extensive field of influence. It remains to be seen whether, with the sudden and unexampled development of the Republican movement, its sphere of action is to be circumscribed. We do not suppose that such is to be the case; but, should it be, it will not be the first time that the pioneers of a great movement have been forgotten and thrown aside, in the day of its power.

THE NATIONAL ERA.
Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

PROSPECTUS OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME,
BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1857.

The *National Era* is a Political and a Literary and Family Newspaper, the organ of no party, but holding itself entirely free to approve or condemn, support or oppose, whatever may accord or conflict with its oft-avowed principles. Adopting the language of the Bill of Rights, unanimously agreed upon by the Virginia Convention of June 12, 1776, and prefixed to the amended Constitution of Virginia, in 1830, it holds—

"That all men are, by nature, equally free and independent;

"That Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security, of the People, Nation, or Community;

"That elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly ought to be free;

"That all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property, for public uses, without their own consent or that of their representative so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented, for the public good;

"That the Freedom of the Press is one of the great bulwarks of Liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic Governments;

"That no free Government or the blessing of Liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

The *National Era* has supported and will continue to support the Republican movement, so long as it shall be true to Freedom.

It presents weekly a summary of General News and Political Intelligence; keeps an accurate record of the Proceedings of Congress; is the repository of a large portion of important Speeches delivered in Congress; and its Literary Miscellany, chiefly original, is supplied by many of the best writers of the country.

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G. BAILEY,
Proprietor National Era, Washington, D. C.

THE FREMONT VOTE IN SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

Two hundred and fourteen votes were given for Fremont in Baltimore city; how many in the State, we have not yet heard. The vote would have been quite respectable, had it not been for the prevalent desire among our friends there to defeat Buchanan, which induced many of them to cast their votes for Fillmore, which, under other circumstances, would have been given to Fremont. This was the case, we presume, in other Slaveholding States.

In North Carolina, an electoral ticket was got up, and sent us to be printed; but an error appearing in it, it was sent back for the necessary correction. Owing to the delay which followed, it was not prepared in time for publication. We are sorry that the Fremont men there were not more prompt.

From Virginia we have yet heard no returns at all reported, although doubtless many votes were cast.

THE RECORD OF SECTIONALISM.

Presidents of the United States.

Appointed—	
March 4, 1789	George Washington, *Virginia.*
" 3, 1797	
March 4, 1797	John Adams, *Massachusetts.*
" 3, 1801	
March 4, 1801	Thomas Jefferson, *Virginia.*
" 3, 1809	
March 4, 1809	James Madison, *Virginia.*
" 3, 1817	
March 4, 1817	James Monroe, *Virginia.*
" 3, 1825	
March 4, 1825	J. Q. Adams, *Massachusetts.*
" 3, 1829	
March 4, 1829	Andrew Jackson, *Tennessee.*
" 3, 1837	
March 4, 1837	Martin Van Buren, *New York.*
" 3, 1841	
March 4, 1841	William H. Harrison, *Ohio.*
" 3, 1845	
March 4, 1845	James K. Polk, *Tennessee.*
" 3, 1849	
March 4, 1849	Zachary Taylor, *Louisiana.*
" 3, 1853	
March 4, 1853	Franklin Pierce, *N. Hamp.*
" 3, 1857	
March 4, 1857	Jas. Buchanan, *Pennsylvania.*
" 3, 1861	

At the close of the term for which Mr. Buchanan is elected, it will have been seventy-two years since the organization of the present Government.

In that period, there have been eighteen elections for President, the candidates chosen in twelve of them being Southern men and Slaveholders, in six of them Northern men and Non-slaveholders.

No Northern man has ever been re-elected, but five Southern men have been thus honored.

General Harrison, of Ohio, died one month after his inauguration, General Taylor, of Louisiana, about four months after his inauguration. In the former case, John Tyler, of Virginia, became Acting President, in the latter, Millard Fillmore, of New York.

Of the seventy-two years, closing with Mr. Buchanan's term, should he live it out, Southern men and Slaveholders have occupied the Presidential chair forty-eight years and three months, or a little more than two-thirds of the time.

Of the Presidents elect, Washington from the South, John Adams and John Quincy Adams from the North, are the only men who have been elected without specific reference to the claims of the Slave Interest; but this Interest has been the preponderating influence in the nomination of all the others.

So reads Chapter 1st of the History of Northern Sectionalism.

Presidents Pro Tem. of the Senate.

Since the year 1809, every President *pro tem.* of the Senate of the United States has been a Southern man and Slaveholder, with the exception of Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey, who held the office for a very short time, and Mr. Bright of Indiana, who has held it for one or two sessions, we believe, having been elected, however, as a known adherent of the Slave Interest, believed to be interested in slave property.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

April, 1789	
March 3, 1791	F. A. Muhlenberg, *Penn.*
Oct. 24, 1791	
March 2, 1793	J. Trumbull, *Connecticut.*
Dec. 2, 1793	
March 3, 1795	F. A. Muhlenberg, *Penn.*
Dec. 7, 1795	
March 3, 1797	Jonathan Dayton, *New Jersey.*
May 15, 1797	" " "
March 3, 1799	
Dec. 2, 1799	Theodore Sedgwick, *Mass.*
March 3, 1801	
Dec. 7, 1801	Nathaniel Macon, *N. Car.*
March 3, 1807	
Oct. 26, 1807	J. B. Varnum, *Massachusetts.*
March 3, 1811	
March 4, 1811	Henry Clay, *Kentucky.*
Jan. 19, 1814	
Jan. 19, 1814	Langdon Cheves, *S. Car.*
March 2, 1815	
Dec. 4, 1815	Henry Clay, *Kentucky.*
Nov. 13, 1820	
Nov. 15, 1820	J. W. Taylor, *New York.*
March 3, 1821	
Dec. 3, 1821	P. B. Barbour, *Virginia.*
March 3, 1823	
Dec. 1, 1823	Henry Clay, *Kentucky.*
March 3, 1825	
Dec. 5, 1825	J. W. Taylor, *New York.*
March 3, 1827	
Dec. 3, 1827	A. Stevenson, *Virginia.*
June 2, 1834	
June 2, 1834	John Bell, *Tennessee.*
March 3, 1835	
Dec. 7, 1835	James K. Polk, *Tennessee.*
March 3, 1839	
Dec. 16, 1839	R. M. T. Hunter, *Virginia.*
March 3, 1841	
May 31, 1841	John White, *Tennessee.*
March 3, 1843	
Dec. 4, 1843	J. W. Jones, *Virginia.*
March 3, 1845	
Dec. 1, 1845	J. W. Davis, *Indiana.*
March 3, 1847	
Dec. 6, 1847	R. C. Winthrop, *Mass.*
March 3, 1849	
Dec. 22, 1849	Howell Cobb, *Georgia.*
March 3, 1851	
Dec. 1, 1851	Linn Boyd, *Kentucky.*
March 3, 1853	
Dec. 1, 1853	" " "
March 3, 1855	
Feb. 36, 1855	Nathaniel P. Banks, *Mass.*
March 3, 1857	

The Speaker, as we have often explained, exerts great influence on legislation, having the appointment of all the standing committees, in which the business of the House is prepared, and being able so to enforce the rules and decide points of order, as to shape to a considerable extent the action of that body.

There have been thirty-four Congresses since the organization of the Government; of twenty-one, Southern men and Slaveholders have been the Speakers; of twelve, Northern men; the remaining Congress was divided between them, a Southern man being Speaker at one session, a Northern man at the other.

Or, counting by years, Southern men and Slaveholders have filled the Speakership of the House for forty-three years, Northern men, twenty-five years.

Since 1820, or during the thirty-six years closing with the present Congress, Northern men will have filled the Speakership eight years, Southern men and Slaveholders, twenty-eight.

Behold another Chapter of the lamentable sectionalism of the North! Its aggressions are intolerable.

The Supreme Court.

The judicial districts are organized so as to give five Judges to the slave States, and four to the free, although the population, wealth, and business of the latter are far in advance of those of the former. The arrangement affords, however, an excuse for constituting the Supreme Court, with a majority of Judges from the slaveholding States.

	MEMBERS.	
Chief Justice,	R. B. Taney,	*Maryland.*
Associate Justice,	J. M. Wayne,	*Georgia.*
Do. do.	John Catron,	*Tennessee.*
Do. do.	P. V. Daniel,	*Virginia.*
Do. do.	John A. Campbell,	*Alabama.*
Do. do.	John McLean,	*Ohio.*
Do. do.	S. Nelson,	*New York.*
Do. do.	R. C. Grier,	*Pennsylvania.*
Do. do.	B. R. Curtis,	*Massachusetts.*
Reporter,	B. C. Howard,	*Maryland.*
Clerk,	W. T. Carroll,	*D. C.*

Northern sectionalism!

Secretaries of State.

The highest office in the Cabinet is that of Secretary of State, who has under his charge the foreign relations of the country. Since the year 1789, there have been twenty-two appointments to the office, fourteen from slave States, eight from free. Or, counting by years, the post has been filled by Southern men and Slaveholders very nearly forty years out of rixty-seven, as follows:

Appointed—	
Sept. 26, 1789,	Thomas Jefferson, *Virginia.*
Jan. 2, 1794,	E. Randolph, *Virginia.*
Dec. 10, 1795,	T. Pickering, *Massachusetts.*
May 13, 1800,	J. Marshall, *Virginia.*
March 5, 1801,	James Madison, *Virginia.*
March 6, 1809,	R. Smith, *Maryland.*
April 2, 1811,	James Monroe, *Virginia.*
Feb. 28, 1815,	Do. do.
March 5, 1817,	J. Q. Adams, *Massachusetts.*
March 7, 1825,	Henry Clay, *Kentucky.*
March 6, 1829,	Martin Van Buren, *New York.*
May 24, 1831,	E. Livingston, *Louisiana.*
May 29, 1833,	Louis McLane, *Delaware.*
June 27, 1834,	J. Forsyth, *Georgia.*
March 5, 1841,	Daniel Webster, *Massachusetts.*
July 24, 1843,	A. P. Upshur, *Virginia.*
March 6, 1844,	J. C. Calhoun, *South Carolina.*
March 5, 1845,	Jas. Buchanan, *Pennsylvania.*
March 7, 1849,	J. M. Clayton, *Delaware.*
July 20, 1850,	Daniel Webster, *Massachusetts.*
Dec. 9, 1852,	E. Everett, *Massachusetts.*
March 5, 1853,	W. L. Marcy, *New York.*

Secretaries of the Treasury.

The post of Secretary of the Treasury, although one of great importance, requires financial abilities of a high order, which are more frequently found in the North than in the South, and affords little opportunity for influencing general politics, or the questions springing out of Slavery. We need not therefore be surprised to learn that Northern men have been allowed to discharge its duties some forty-eight years out of sixty-seven, as follows:

Appointed—	
Sept. 11, 1789,	A. Hamilton, *New York.*
Feb. 3, 1795,	O. Wolcott, *Connecticut.*
Dec. 31, 1800,	S. Dexter, *Massachusetts.*
May 14, 1801,	A. Gallatin, *Pennsylvania.*
Feb. 9, 1814,	G. W. Campbell, *Tennessee.*
Oct. 6, 1814,	A. J. Dallas, *Pennsylvania.*
Oct. 22, 1816,	W. H. Crawford, *Georgia.*
March 7, 1825,	R. Rush, *Pennsylvania.*
March 6, 1829,	S. D. Ingham, *Pennsylvania.*
Aug. 8, 1831,	L. McLane, *Delaware.*
May 29, 1833,	W. J. Duane, *Pennsylvania.*
Sept. 23, 1833,	Roger B. Taney, *Maryland.*
June 27, 1834,	L. Woodbury, *New Hampshire.*
March 5, 1841,	Thomas Ewing, *Ohio.*
Sept. 13, 1841,	W. Forward, *Pennsylvania.*
March 3, 1843,	J. C. Spencer, *New York.*
June 15, 1844,	G. M. Bibb, *Kentucky.*
March 5, 1845,	R. J. Walker, *Mississippi.*
March 7, 1849,	W. M. Meredith, *Pennsylvania.*
June 20, 1850,	Thomas Corwin, *Ohio.*
March 5, 1853,	James Guthrie, *Kentucky.*

Secretaries of War and the Navy.

The Slaveholders have graciously shared these offices with free State men, on terms of equality—only since March 8th, 1841, a period of nearly sixteen years, they have taken almost exclusive supervision of the Navy, Northern men having occupied the Secretaryship only two years. Nor has any Northern man been Secretary of War since 1849. Considering that nearly all the shipping belongs to the free States, which also supply the seamen, it does seem remarkable that Slaveholders should have monopolized for the last sixteen years the control of the Navy.

Secretaries of War.

Appointed—	
Sept. 12, 1789,	Henry Knox, *Massachusetts.*
Jan. 2, 1795,	T. Pickering, *Massachusetts.*
Jan. 27, 1796,	J. McHenry, *Maryland.*
May 7, 1800,	J. Marshall, *Virginia.*
May 13, 1800,	S. Dexter, *Massachusetts.*
Feb. 3, 1801,	R. Griswold, *Connecticut.*
March 5, 1801,	H. Dearborn, *Massachusetts.*
March 7, 1802,	W. Eustis, *Massachusetts.*
Jan. 13, 1813,	J. Armstrong, *New York.*
Sept. 27, 1814,	James Monroe, *Virginia.*
March 3, 1815,	W. H. Crawford, *Georgia.*
April 7, 1817,	G. Graham, *Virginia.*
March 5, 1817,	J. Shelby, *Kentucky.*
Oct. 8, 1817,	J. C. Calhoun, *South Carolina.*
March 7, 1825,	J. Barbour, *Virginia.*
May 26, 1828,	P. B. Porter, *Pennsylvania.*
March 9, 1829,	J. H. Eaton, *Tennessee.*
Aug. 1, 1831,	Lewis Cass, *Ohio.*
March 3, 1837,	B. F. Butler, *New York.*
March 7, 1837,	J. R. Poinsett, *South Carolina.*
March 5, 1841,	James Bell, *Tennessee.*
Sept. 13, 1841,	John McLean, *Ohio.*
Oct. 12, 1841,	J. C. Spencer, *New York.*
March 8, 1843,	J. W. Porter, *Pennsylvania.*
Feb. 15, 1844,	W. Wilkins, *Pennsylvania.*
March 5, 1845,	William L. Marcy, *New York.*
March 7, 1849,	G. W. Crawford, *Georgia.*
July 20, 1850,	E. Bates, *Missouri.*
Aug. 15, 1850,	C. M. Conrad, *Louisiana.*
March 5, 1853,	J. C. Dobbin, *North Carolina.*

Secretaries of the Navy.

Appointed—	
May 3, 1798,	G. Cahot, *Massachusetts.*
May 21, 1798,	B. Stoddart, *Massachusetts.*
July 15, 1801,	R. Smith, *Maryland.*
May 3, 1805,	J. Crowninshield, *Mass.*
March 7, 1809,	P. Hamilton, *South Carolina.*
Jan. 12, 1813,	W. Jones, *Pennsylvania.*
Dec. 17, 1814,	B. W. Crowninchield, *Mass.*
Nov. 9, 1818,	Smith Thompson, *New York.*
Sept. 1, 1823,	John Rogers, *Massachusetts.*
Sept. 16, 1823,	S. L. Southard, *New Jersey.*
March 9, 1829,	John Branch, *North Carolina.*
May 23, 1831,	L. Woodbury, *New Hampshire.*
June 30, 1834,	M. Dickerson, *New Jersey.*
June 20, 1838,	J. K. Paulding, *New York.*
March 5, 1841,	G. F. Badger, *North Carolina.*
Sept. 13, 1841,	A. P. Upshur, *Virginia.*
July 24, 1843,	D. Henshaw, *Massachusetts.*
Feb. 12, 1844,	T. W. Gilmer, *Virginia.*
March 14, 1844,	James V. Mason, *Virginia.*
March 10, 1845,	G. Bancroft, *Massachusetts.*
Sept. 9, 1846,	James Y. Mason, *Virginia.*
March 7, 1849,	W. B. Preston, *Virginia.*
July 20, 1850,	W. A. Graham, *N. Carolina.*
July 22, 1852,	J. P. Kennedy, *Maryland.*
March 3, 1853,	J. C. Dobbin, *N. Carolina.*

Postmasters General.

Appointed—	
Sept. 26, 1789,	S. Osgood, *Massachusetts.*
Aug. 12, 1791,	T. Pickering, *Massachusetts.*
Feb. 25, 1795,	J. Habersham, *Georgia.*
Nov. 28, 1801,	G. Granger, *Connecticut.*
March 17, 1814,	R. J. Meigs, *Ohio.*
June 25, 1823,	John McLean, *Ohio.*
March 9, 1829,	W. T. Barry, *Kentucky.*
May 1, 1835,	A. Kendall, *Kentucky.*
May 18, 1840,	J. M. Niles, *Connecticut.*
March 6, 1841,	F. Granger, *New York.*
Sept. 13, 1841,	C. A. Wickliffe, *Kentucky.*
March 5, 1845,	C. Johnson, *Tennessee.*
March 7, 1849,	J. Collamer, *Vermont.*
July 20, 1850,	N. K. Hall, *New York.*
Aug. 31, 1852,	S. D. Hubbard, *Connecticut.*
March 5, 1853,	J. Campbell, *Pennsylvania.*

Sectionalism does not seem to have had much to do with this Department, or with that of the Interior, created in 1848–'49.

Secretaries of the Interior.

Appointed—	
March 7, 1849,	T. Ewing, *Ohio.*
July 20, 1850,	J. A. Pearce, *Maryland.*
Aug. 15, 1850,	T. M. T. McKennon, *Penn.*
Sept. 12, 1850,	A. H. H. Stuart, *Virginia.*
March 5, 1853,	R. McClelland, *Michigan.*

Attorney Generals.

Appointed—	
Sept. 26, 1789,	E. Randolph, *Virginia.*
June 27, 1794,	W. Bradford, *Pennsylvania.*
Dec. 10, 1795,	C. Lee, *Virginia.*
Feb. 20, 1801,	T. Parsons, *Massachusetts.*
March 5, 1801,	L. Lincoln, *Massachusetts.*
March 2, 1805,	R. Smith, *Maryland.*
Dec. 23, 1805,	J. Breckinridge, *Kentucky.*
Jan. 20, 1807,	C. A. Rodney, *Pennsylvania.*
Dec. 11, 1811,	W. Pinkney, *Maryland.*
Feb. 10, 1814,	R. Rush, *Pennsylvania.*
Nov. 13, 1817,	W. Wirt, *Virginia.*
March 9, 1829,	J. McPherson Berrien, *Ga.*
July 20, 1831,	Roger B. Taney, *Maryland.*
Nov. 15, 1833,	B. F. Butler, *New York.*
July 7, 1838,	F. Grundy, *Tennessee.*
Jan. 10, 1840,	H. D. Gilpin, *Pennsylvania.*
March 5, 1841,	J. J. Crittenden, *Kentucky.*
Sept. 13, 1841,	H. S. Legare, *South Carolina.*
July 1, 1843,	John Nelson, *Maryland.*
March 5, 1845,	J. Y. Mason, *Virginia.*
Oct. 17, 1846,	N. Clifford, *Maine.*
June 21, 1848,	Isaac Toucey, *Connecticut.*
March 7, 1849,	R. Johnson, *Maryland.*
July 20, 1850,	J. J. Crittenden, *Kentucky.*
March 5, 1853,	C. Cushing, *Massachusetts.*

The Attorney General is the confidential adviser of the President and Heads of Departments, on points of law. The treason trials at Christiana, Pennsylvania, were set on foot under advice, we presume, from the Attorney General; and we all know what efforts Caleb Cushing has made to give the color of law to the Pro-Slavery aggressions of his party.

Observe, then, that this post has been filled twenty-five years by Northern men, and forty-two years by Southern men and Slaveholders, out of sixty-seven years; and among the Northern men, it would puzzle one to find in the whole South more thoroughly Pro-Slavery constructionists than Caleb Cushing and Isaac Toucey.

Recapitulation.

Presidency.—Southern men and Slaveholders, 48 years 3 months; Northern men, 23 years 9 months.

Pro Tem. Presidency of the Senate.—Since 1809, held by Southern man and Slaveholders, except for three or four sessions by Northern men.

Speakership of the House.—Filled by Southern men and Slaveholders forty-three years, Northern men, twenty-five.

Supreme Court.—A majority of the Judges, including Chief Justice, Southern men and Slaveholders.

Secretaryship of State.—Filled by Southern men and Slaveholders forty years, Northern, twenty-seven.

Attorney Generalship.—Filled by Southern men and Slaveholders forty-two years, Northern men, twenty-five.

War and Navy.—Secretaryship of the Navy, Southern men and Slaveholders, the last sixteen years, with an interval of two years.

In other respects, and in the other Department, offices pretty equally distributed.

But, remember, under almost every Administration since 1829, the Northern men holding office have generally been abetting, or acquiescing in, a Pro-Slavery Policy—in other words, member of the Party of Slavery, not that of Freedom.

A stranger would naturally infer that a section which has monopolized so disproportionate a share of power in the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of the Federal Government, must be greatly superior in population, intelligence, and wealth. He will be surprised to learn that precisely the reverse is the fact. The white populations of what are called the non-slaveholding and slaveholding States were as follows, at the periods marked:

	Non-Slaveholding.	*Slaveholding.*
1790 - - -	1,900,376	1,271,488
1800 - - -	2,601,509	1,702,980
1810 - - -	3,653,219	2,208,785
1820 - - -	5,030,377	2,831,500
1830 - - -	6,874,772	3,662,606
1840 - - -	9,561,176	4,634,519
1850 - - -	13,330,650	6,222,418

We need not take from the Compendium of the Census (from which we extract these figures) tables showing the vast superiority of the non-slaveholding States in wealth and general intelligence. Everybody knows it.

But, we have used the term, "Southern men and Slaveholders." The Northern men who have filled offices in the General Government have been taken indiscriminately from all classes—agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, mercantile—and from all professions—the representing the opinions and interests of all the People of the free States. But, not so with Southern men. In nearly all cases, they have belonged to one class, represented the views, the policy, the interest, of one class, and that, not embracing the majority of the Southern People. They have been slaveholders, and the class to which they have belonged, numbered, in 1850, according to the Census, 347,000. Now, suppose that each one of these stand for six white persons—relations and dependents—we have the Federal Government controlled in all its departments by a class numbering, all told, 2,082,000, or one third of the whole white population of the South.

It follows, therefore, that a class of persons living chiefly in one section of the Union, identified with an interest, peculiar, domineering, and aggressive, numbering about two millions, has given to a nation which numbered in 1850 nearly twenty millions of free white persons, seventeen millions and a half of whom have vast interests which are subordinated and in many cases impaired by that one Interest, two thirds of its Presidents, nearly all of its Presidents *pro tem.* of the Senate, two thirds of its Speakers of the House, nearly two thirds of its Secretaries of State and its Attorney Generals, and a majority of its Supreme Court, besides dictating in most instances the organization of the Standing Committees in both Houses of Congress. And yet, this small sectional Class, with its one Idea, and its one Interest, has the audacity to assume to be *the South*, and to raise a perpetual clamor against the aggressions of *the North!!*

THE ELECTION AND THE RESULTS—THE WORK BEFORE US.

The election is over, and James Buchanan is President-elect of the United States—an event for which we have been prepared since his nomination, a few months ago. Until the October election, we had set down all the free States as certain for Fremont, except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and California. Their results awakened doubts in regard to Indiana and Illinois; but still we inclined to the opinion that they both would cast their votes for Fremont. It seems, however, that Indiana has taken her place beside Pennsylvania, if not Illinois. We also predicted that Fillmore would not obtain the electoral vote of a single State, but it turns out that Maryland has given him a majority. With this exception, and that of Indiana, the results of the election verify the correctness of our calculations.

Mr. Buchanan is elected President, but by the votes of a *minority* of the People. Full returns may probably show that the aggregate popular vote for Fremont alone, to say nothing of that for Fillmore, is larger than that given to the Cincinnati nominee, a fact which should lead him and his supporters to humble themselves in the hour of their triumph.

But he is not only a minority President, he is a *sectional* one; elected on a sectional platform, chiefly by a sectional vote—all the slaveholding States, and only three or four free States yielding him their support. For all this, we shall not counsel a dissolution of the Union, after the manner of Governor Wise and his confederates. The Republicans respect the Constitution and Laws of their country; and, recognising the election of James Buchanan, a minority and sectional President, as strictly constitutional and legal, they will not resist his inauguration, or refuse to acknowledge him President, thus perpetrating the infamous treason threatened by his supporters in the South, had Mr. Fremont been elected.

Do our readers recollect the tenor of the series of articles we wrote two years ago on the Know Nothing movement, its action and probable effects in preventing a union of the opponents of the Nebraska Bill and Slavery Extension, at the Presidential election? They must pardon this reference to the past; it is made, not for the purpose of reproaching our Anti-Slavery friends, but to remind them, now that the work of organizing against the Slave Power is to be resumed, that a bold, straight-forward, an honest course, free from all entangling alliances, in rigid accordance with their own principles, unadulterated by contradictory elements, is the only wise and safe policy. A single extract from one of that series of articles will show what was the burden of all:

"Slavery is the paramount question. This is the position of the Republicans. They are not and cannot become 'Democrats,' 'Whigs,' 'Know Nothings.' In the coming Presidential contest, they will have their own candidates. They will not go over to the Know Nothings; they will make no terms with them or any other party. Their principles will be Republican, and nothing else. Their candidates will be Republican, and nothing else. They may be beaten—they will not be dishonored. They will not pander to Slavery, Doughfaceism, Religious Bigotry, or bigoted Nativeism. If Northern Know Nothings persist in their separate organization and action, they will only show that, in their regards, the cause of Human Freedom is subordinate to the question concerning the rights of foreigners and Catholics. They will not be able to elect their candidates, but they will divide the free States, prevent the election of the Republican candidates, and so perpetuate power in the hands of the slaveholders. * * *

"We shall continue to insist that all issues, all organizations, must give place to the one issue of Freedom—to the one organization which seeks to unite all the friends of Freedom for the overthrow of the Slave Power—and that any Party or Order opposed to this policy, or standing in the way of it—whatever the feelings of some of its adherents—whatever the action of some of its sections—is, in effect, an enemy of Freedom and ally of Slavery."

The policy, so earnestly insisted upon, was adopted in all the States, except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Indiana.* In all of them, with these exceptions, the Republicans took their own ground, stood upon their own platform, fought openly under their own flag. The Know Nothings, who were intelligently and sincerely Anti Slavery, united with them; and the Fillmore secessionists were not numerous enough to constitute even a balance-of-power party. Behold the results! The Fremont ticket elected in all of these States by overwhelming majorities!—Fillmoreism almost blotted out!—Buchananism reduced to its minimum capacity for mischief!

What has defeated us? Know Nothingism—the bigoted Know Nothingism of the three States named. Our friends in Indiana, in their Convention last spring for the nomination of State officers, tampered with the evil, permitted it to take the lead and give character to their ticket, and forbore even to take the name, "Republican." "The People's Convention," "the People's Party"—such were the timid and doubtful phrases—and they must needs adopt some of the characteristic symbols of Know Nothingism. At last they did venture to nominate a Fremont electoral ticket, but, as it seems, even that could not repair the damage caused by previous temporizing. The Foreign vote, we presume, had been alienated, while Fillmoreism had been puffed up with the delusion that it could control the State.

More reprehensible still was the policy in Pennsylvania. Our friends there from the beginning to the end of the canvass were overawed by the Secret Order. There was a kind of Republican organisation, but it feared to act alone. It was always hanging upon the skirts of the Know Nothing party. To this hour we have no means of judging exactly what is its strength, compared with that of Fillmoreism. The State ticket it voted for, was a Union ticket, with a majority of Fillmore men upon it—and the electoral ticket it supported, was a Union ticket, pledged to regulate its electoral vote, according to the proportion of the popular vote given to Fillmore and Fremont. In a word, it attempted to trade, without known capital, with a party, having a capital pretty well ascertained. That such a ticket should repel a large portion of the naturalized vote, and at the same time encounter the opposition of the old Conservative Whigs, and the zealous Fillmore Know Nothings, was to be expected.

A similar policy was pursued in New Jersey; only, at the last moment, having failed to effect union on a joint electoral ticket, the Republicans got up a ticket for themselves. But it was too late. The Fillmore men having had no means of ascertaining the strength of the new Party, and deluded by ideas of their own power, adhered to their ticket, although, as the returns show, the Republicans after all cast a much larger vote than they did. Now, had the sincere opponents of the Nebraska bill and Slavery extension openly and boldly united, utterly ignoring all other issues, hung upon the skirts of no other party, but raised their own flag in the very beginning of the canvass, they might have carried all three of the States, at least, Indiana.

Let experience teach wisdom. Let the rock on which the Republican cause has split in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Indiana, be marked out distinctly on the political chart for the benefit of future navigators.

There is still another cause of the defeat of Republicanism in the States named—the want of general intelligence and drilling on the subject of independent political action against the Slave Interest: pray heaven this cause, operating in Southern Illinois, may not have lost us that State! By examining the action and votes of the old Liberty Party, it will be found that it scarcely ever acquired a foothold in New Jersey, in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania, in Southern Illinois, or in Indiana, except in certain localities. In all the other States, and in Western Pennsylvania and Northern Illinois, it was always in the field after 1840, sometimes decided the close contests of the Whig and Democratic Parties, and, by the animated discussions to which it gave rise, gradually prepared the Public Mind for concentration upon the great issue. The political press, now engaged in the Republican cause, would do well to take heed to this fact. We have noticed in two or three papers in Boston and New York, formerly Whig, unfriendly allusions to the action of the old Liberty Party—unwise as unfriendly, and indicating too little information in regard to the history and philosophy of Anti-Slavery political action.

The New York *Evening Post* says that the Free Soil Party of 1840 was the germ of the Republican Party of to-day; but it should not forget that the Liberty Party of 1840 was the germ of the Free Soil Party of 1848; and he who attempts to disparage it, (the *Post* does not,) as if it had ever avowed principles or pursued a policy different from those of what is called the Republican Party, is either poorly informed, or influenced by an unmanly disposition to shun the unpopularity that attaches to all great movements in their earlier stages.

Some of our friends may be disappointed in the result of the contest: we are encouraged. Our opponents are deeply disappointed, and well they may be. They have elected the President, but not obtained a popular verdict in favor of the present Administration, or of the policy to which the President elect is pledged. Two millions of votes are recorded against them, while of the fifteen hundred thousand they may count in their favor, how many in the free States signify approbation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, or of the policy of Slavery Extension? How many, indeed, have been given to Mr. Buchanan, under the impression that he is too conservative and peaceful in his temper to give loose rein to Slavery-Propagandism? We know many honest Democrats who voted for him, because they did not believe he would give countenance to filibustering or propagandism. And how many in the free States were deluded by the representations of artful politicians, that the policy of Squatter Sovereignty after all is sure in the long run to work for the benefit of Freedom! These delusions cannot last forever. In every struggle, the scales fall from many eyes, and accessions are gained to the ranks of Freedom. In every struggle, the old Democracy at the North loses, and the true Democracy gains, as the Truth is made manifest.

What is there to dishearten the friends of Free Territory? They have carried eleven States, containing a white population larger by three millions than the white population of all the slaveholding States. They have reduced the so-called Democracy from the control of fourteen free States in 1854, to the control of but three or four in 1856. They have defeated Gen. Pierce in his own State, Gen. Cass in his State, and, we hope, Douglas in his State,

est in the topic that has taken such a hold on the thinking mind. The books are sold and are read. They are talked about; opinions are compared; there is an insensible influence from them pervading the whole community. It cannot be otherwise, and it is this fact among others which assures us that the leaven of sound opinion is spreading among all the masses, which renders any ultimate retrograde action impossible. The next generation will have had more light so poured upon their minds than any preceding. No one but must know and feel that where thousands of copies of one and another tale or autobiography are falling into the hands of the young as well as those of riper years, it is not all the bars and bolts of despotism that can hold its citadel from a final downfall. Our Revolution was aided by no such mighty engines to batter down the walls of oppression; yet the clarion sounds that year after year came pealing on the ears of our sires had their effect, and at last poured their echoed thunder upon the very throne. So it will be now. Such being the case, we cannot but watch with no little interest the almost daily issues of the press bearing any relation to this subject. Writers who thus come out in the field should feel their responsibility, weigh well their strength, and so shape their efforts as not to let them be lacking in interest or might of conviction.

The authoress of this volume has drawn a dark enough picture of Slavery; its most revolting features lear upon us with a horrid mockery of religion and morality. Facts, such as she has depioted, no doubt exist. They are the necessary result of the system carried out to its legitimate resnlts. Unlimited power, as an instrument of passion and sensual excess, must be haleful and damning in their work on the soul of man. The moral sense will be blunted, too, even where these worst consequences are not developed, and the feeling of responsibility to God is impaired, till it cesses to be realized, except on some startling occasion. A spiritual numbness creeps over the heart, and the eye can see, the ear can hear, the tongue can speak, its apologies, as it would not once have done. Habituated to mingle with others as insensible, if not far more so, to the evils known, soon the injustice and the sin is unthought of, and the daily occurrences of such a state of the inferior society so far beneath them, is as little cared for as among the brutes that herd in their fields. God, however, must see it all with a different eye. And it is because they are not mere brntes, but destined to live forever, that the voice of the blood shed, and the cries of down-trodden men and women, have such a fearful meaning. It is this point which Mrs. Stowe has urged with such effect; and this it is, with other things, which imparts such a moral power to her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred*. Our authoress, in the book now under notice, too, has not been wanting in seizing hold of this element, and her tale is in many respects well conceived, and portions of it are suitably carried out. It, however, is too involved in its plot, and there is a degree of apparent exaggeration in its incidents, that may detract from its effect. We, but not change any real exaggeration of possible situations or conditions; but, in our view, a less lengtheued coil many times round and round of the serpent, a less elaborated network of contingencies cast over the persons who figure through the scenes, would have been better. The volume in parts should have been shorter; with fewer details, the breaks here and there of the main thread of the story are too great. Whether or not a practiced writer, she evidently describes with great sincerity of purpose. We think she falls in the negro dialect; it is less true to nature than in some other books. There is a want of distinctness also in certain portions of the book; at least, the incidents and language do not make that impression that the mind recalls them when their remembrance is needed to further the progress toward the end. The operation of the curse in one generation after another is strongly depicted, and we feel it. But the whole influence, after all, is not so concentrated as to produce the effect that she aims at. We rise from its perusal as from a tale of horror, but the abiding power is soon lost. We state our impression of the book as it seemed to us when we had gone through it all. Our readers may be differently affected, and the authoress should have the benefit of such admission, as she has our sincere wishes that her book may prove a better auxiliary than we have regarded it, in the great cause of moral improvement and philanthropy.

THE GRAND RESULT IN NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *November* 6, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The Empire State gives Fremont a majority of 70,000 over Buchanan, and 100,000 over Fillmore.

Everywhere, to-day, we hear Fillmourners swearing they have been deceived by their presses and their leaders, and that beneceforth they are Republicans.

The Republicans have elected their State officers and the Legislature, and will send a true man to the Senate, as colleague to Gov. Seward.

By the way, you will observe that Governor Seward's own city and county have given Fremont 5,000 majority, being a gain of some 6,000 in a year, in a total vote of 11,000.

Another thing you will notice—the city of New York and suburbs gave 20,000 majority for Buchanan, and yet the rural counties overcome this, and roll up 70,000 majority for Fremont, besides.

A more intelligent body of men don't exist than the inhabitants of Central and Western New York. What is the lesson we read here? Why, that the people of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York city, may be and must be enlightened by newspapers, speeches, and books, on the great issue of Freedom and Slavery, so that they shall vote in unison with Massachusetts and New York.

The Wilmot district in Pennsylvania gives Fremont 9,000 majority. All Pennsylvania can be made a Wilmot district. Indiana can be made an Ohio. Education and enlightenment will do it. Let, then, the friends of Freedom address themselves to this work; and let them not neglect it until another election shall come, but commence the undertaking with systematic zeal immediately.

Observe that New York State sends you no Havens, Whitneys, Wheelers, or Valls, this time. As in Ohio and Indiana, the Republicans lose several members by the operation of the "third blade of the shears." But what we have got we feel sure of this time. S.

WILMOT'S DISTRICT.

TOWANDA, *November* 7, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Bradford County—Official.	
Fremont - - - -	*6,969
Buchanan - - - -	2,314
Majority - - - -	4,655
Reported, Tioga county -	3,150
Susquehanna county -	1,300
Majority in the district -	9,105

The above is not far from correct—a gain over the Canal Commissioner's vote of 680 in this county, and over 1,300 in the district.

The friends of Freedom here are not disheartened or discouraged. We shall keep up our Republican Clubs throughout this county and district, and work with unshaded energy for the defence of our country's liberties.

This district gave Pierce about 2,500 majority in 1852. J. WILMOR.

* Of this vote, 50 had the name of Fillmore at the head of the ticket; 71 *straight* votes for Fillmore in the county.

KANSAS.

WHOLESALE PRISON, LECOMPTON, KANSAS, *Monday, October* 27, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The process of "crushing out" still continues. This terrible region yet fail to overflowing, and the terrible suffering within its walls remains unabated.

One week ago, Friday night, ten or fiftsen United States soldiers came into town from their camp, and remained till midnight. When they started for home, pretty well intoxicated. At a short distance from town, they fired off their revolvers. The reports were heard in town and in the camp of the militia, and then ensued such a scene of confusion and disgrace as I never before witnessed. "Lane's coming, Lane's coming," resounded from one end of the town to the other. Titus ran through the streets like a lunatic, screaming out orders to his men, as though the safety of the Union itself depended upon the capacity of his lungs. The two cannon, of which I have before spoken, were drawn nearer to the prison, and freshly loaded. The grand guard was formed by with much in hand, all ready for a gallant defence—of what? We shall see, if we have not already seen. Titus gave orders, that if another gun were heard, both cannons should be discharged against the prison. He also sent messengers to the people residing in the adjoining buildings, requesting them to go into their cellars, or to some other place of safety, to avoid injury, at the same time informing them of the orders he had given. The night tedeiously dragged consumed three or four hours. After the militia were all formed in line of battle, some became suspicious of having to fight somebody beside defenceless prisoners, and it soon became observable that many of them had important business in camp, for Titus was heard ordering his captains to "place a guard over the cowards, to keep them from running." In this strain he continued for some hours. But, luckily for us, the drunken soldiers, who had so alarmed the invincible army, had discharged all their pistols, and were too drunk to reload them; for Captain Donaldson, son of the Marshal, who had accompanied the militia to Lane's since told us, in conversation about the matter, that his duty would have been to "obey orders." But as the regulars went home, the *mule*-itis, as some call them, did the same, laying down to pleasant sleep and dreams of glory. On the following morning, a note, stating the particulars of the affair, and signed by several prisoners, was sent to the Governor. He called shortly afterwards, but, in reference to it, only remarked that the *militia were not United States troops*, and that we should know enough of military discipline not to be alarmed at anything of that kind.

During his visit, the Governor said that the Grand Inquest would probably be discharged that day, and that he had left strict orders that all against whom no bills were found should be immediately released, and the remainder provided with bedding and other articles of necessary to our comfort. But what was the result? The Governor left the same day with 150 dragoons, and has since been scouring the country adjacent to Franklin and Osawatomie, telling sweet stories to the people, while Deputy Marshal Tebbs, who accompanied him, was arresting them for political offences. The Grand Jury is still in session, and may still be for weeks—and we may be here as long as is a Free State man in the Territory not under indictment. All our original number except three have been indicted, and are probably only in the beginning of their sufferings.

The following is a correct list, one of our number died, and was freed forever from the hands of tyranny. He was a young man named William Bowles, formerly from St. Charles, Missouri. We tried to get a place of quiet for him, but could not. Only one of the officers seemed to take any notice of his danger or our wishes, except Sergeant Stansell, who did all in his power, but he had his superiors. The night previous to the death of Bowles, no physician could be got. Dr. Brooks was playing "poker," and said he "would not leave the game to save all the G—d d—d Abolitionists in Kansas." The reply of the others sent for was similar to Brooks'. Physicians from Lawrence now visit us every day or two, and we shall not pretend to call upon any of the heathen hereafter. It is a miracle to me, why more have not died. The whole air is filled with disease—sickness is seen in every corner. Our prison before our entrance was used as a barrack for the militia, who left behind them lice, bed-bugs, &c., of every kind, which have so increased, on account of our having no opportunities for preserving cleanliness, until now all is a mass of vermin.

That day was deemed appropriate for sending forth an appeal to the American people. It was written in great haste, and all the prisoners, gathered in the lower room, each of which attached his own name to the memorial. But one copy was written; this was sent to the *New York Tribune*, and will probably be published in the daily edition of that paper, so that others will get it through that quite early.

During the past week, eighty-six of Harvey's company were indicted under two bills—one for murder, and the other for manslaughter, at Hickory Point. One of the enemy who was wounded at that place has since died, which is the origin of this last bill. The other two—for there are eighty-six of Harvey's men still here imprisoned—have not passed upon the further intentionally or not, I am unable to tell. Four prisoners from the Grasshopper Creek country, and M. J. Mitchell, of Topeka, who was arrested by a posse at Weston, Missouri, were indicted under another bill, for assault upon Hickory Point with intent to kill—whom, it has not yet been ascertained—on the day Lane first attacked that place. Three of them were tried on Friday, and acquitted, but immediately arrested on another charge—they have not yet been told what. A bill has been found against one other prisoner for the Osawkie affair. Two were indicted for this, but one of them, E. C. Whipple, has since proved to be the wrong man. These two, Ritchey and Kagi, will be brought up to-day for trial, but both will ask for a continuance, as the only witnesses by whom they can disprove some untrue charges utter insanity are absent in the Free States. Charles Sexton, who was committed with the others charged with being at Osawkie, is yet here. Perhaps no bill will be found against him. The charge against him is his offering to pay for some oats, taken by Lane's men on his return from Hickory Point. Two others are held subject to indictment—one for being at the sacking of Tecumseh, the other for robbing the Santa Fe train. On Friday, the District Attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* in the case of William Breyman, one of the eighty-six, indicted for murder and manslaughter. He had been very sick, and I think it was mostly owing to this that he was released, although some think they intend to obtain his evidence for the prosecution. This will be of no injury to the defendants, for they will prove by him, as well as by some of the enemy themselves, that they did not commence the fight.

One new prisoner was brought in on Friday, and four others yesterday. The former was Elias Roak, a Kentuckian, now a resident of the hogue county of Doniphan. He has been indicted for assault with intent to kill, upon one Rogers, a member of the Grand Jury now in session. In a dispute about political matters, Rogers drew a revolver upon Roak, who, seeing his danger, immediately fired at his antagonist, slightly wounding him. The four brought in yesterday, are Elizur Hill, from Sylvester, Wisconsin; Hiram McAlester and Washington Buchannan, from Philadelphia; and Alvin Wheelers, from Urbana, New York. All are old residents of Kansas. They were brought in by thirty of the troops who went out with Geary. The Deputy Marshal had writs, be said, for all the Free State men in and around Franklin, and that Geary is trying to find old Captain Brown; when he gets him, I will let you know. Neither of those four men know for what they have been arrested, and probably will not for weeks.

Marshal Donaldson has written a letter to Carey B. Whitehead, of Doniphan, telling him that *six or seven of us would be hung, and the rest sent to the penitentiary.*

Another of the Deputy Marshals says, upon high authority, that *Governor Geary has made requisition upon Governor Price, of Missouri, for the penitentiary of that State to keep us in the coming winter.* I give you this as his word only.

I have neither time nor room, nor have I the opportunities for learning the particulars of all the outrages still going on without, entirely unnoticed by the officials, and hardly hinted at by our Free State friends. The house of a prisoner from Topeka, and the saw-mill of a Free State man in Tecumseh, have lately been torn down, and similar attempts to cultivate this particular cane in New Jersey have been highly successful. One person, from stalks grown on a small patch of ground, made seventy-five gallons of good molasses. The difficulty which has stood in the way of this branch of agriculture at the North is the liability of the cane to be injured by the frost, and the want of a sufficiently warm sun for a period long enough to bring the cane to maturity. It is now hoped that this obstacle may be avoided by the singular hardiness of the China variety, which is said to be peculiarly insensible to all the influences and agencies which destroy or hnrt the more tender species of the plant.—*Exchange.*

TURKISH HONESTY.—The Messrs. Abbott were heavy sufferers by the recent great fire at Salonica, in European Turkey, having lost their hooks and papers, containing bills to a large amount against some of the principal inhabitants and merchants of the city. On the day after the fire, old Yusseff Pasha, who is a debtor to M. M. Abbott for a sum of several million piastres, went to them and said, that, having heard that a box of iron had been saved from destroyed, he had brought a copy of his account with them, taken from his books, and also fresh bills for the amount due. This example was followed by all the Turkish debtors to the firm.

IMMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA.—A party of thirty German and French emigrants passed through Lynchburg on Monday, *en route* for Wythe County Va., where they intend settling. The *Richmond Dispatch* says they are the pioneers of a colony to be founded in Southern Virginia by capitalists of France, who have already made purchases of land in that region. They design sending 1,500, of which number 300 will be over shortly. The Governor of the colony, Charles Hamam, was with the party which has just gone, and among the number were three Crimean veterans.

DISTRESSING CALAMITY.—A calamity of a distressing nature occurred at St. Louis, Missouri, on the night of the 31st nlt. Between 12 and 1 o'clock, a fire broke out'in the large cabinet shop of Messrs. Henry and William Decker, which in a short space of time filled with combustible materials, was quickly consnmed, with its entire contents. The saddest feature of the occurrence is the supposed burning of six men who were sleeping in the building. Quite a crowd had collected aronnd the fire, witnessing its progress, when some one suddenly remembered that ten men, hands in the establishment, were sleeping in one of the upper rooms. Four of the men were aroused, and succeeded in making their escape. The remaining six are missing, and are supposed to have perished in the flames. Not one of them was seen on the ground, nor have they been heard from since. Nothing remained, and no trace of one has been discovered in the ruins, and it is supposed that the bodies of the others are hurnt to ashes.

EMIGRATION FOR TEN MONTHS.—The total number of emigrants who arrived at New York during the ten months ending the present evening with October was 120,640. Of this number, 37,457 were Irish, and 46,261 Germans.

EXPLORATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA.—Dr. David Livingston arrived at the Mauritius on the 13th of August, on his way to England. This traveller has succeeded in traversing Africa from ocean to ocean. He started from the Cape of Good Hope, penetrated north and west to Angola, whence he returned as far as Sishiki, and thence eastward to Tete and Quilinaue, on the eastern coast. These great achievements were performed not at the public expense, but by his limself, he being sent as a missionary. The great interior of Africa will not, therefore, hereafter be marked on our maps as "unknown."

A FREE STATE IN TEXAS.—Some six hnndred upon such a thing as a free State of Western Texas, is as improbable, particularly at a time when such enormous efforts are being made to carry Slavery into Kansas, where Slavery does not now exist by positive law. Yet there is a strong probability that such an event will occur within the next ten years. Our opinion is based upon the fact that foreign immigration is greater than domestic, by at least ten to one, and upon the well-known fact that foreign immigration is opposed to Slavery from principle, prejudice, and education. And there are many of the immigrants from the older States opposed to Slavery, who quietly tolerate it so long as it is an institution of the State, but who will vote No Slavery when the question comes up whether Western Texas shall be a free or a slave State. This fact is not generally known; if so, it is not duly considered. The vote of the adopted citizens of Texas now numbers at least 12,000. In less than ten years, it will be increased to three times that number, unless the naturalization laws are changed. This increase will be in a much greater ratio than that of the native-born vote.

San Antonio Texan.

ONLY AN ARMISTICE WITH THE BORDER RUFFIANS—ANOTHER RAID ON FOOT.—*Lawrence, Oct.* 3, 1856.—Many of our people are leaving, for fear of famine in the winter. Can they be reassured? We are having an armistice till after election; then we expect the storm to come. Gov. Geary is a failure, the only object is to make Buchanan capital for the East.

I have learned from a reliable source that it is the intention of the Missouri ruffians to make an attempt to keep Kansas free men of the Territory, and to drive them out, sometime between the middle of November and the first of December. This can only be prevented by an immediate effort to supply and strengthen the Free State men who are suffering and struggling with despotism.

I trust our friends in New York and New England will see the necessity of forwarding all the means they can spare before the first of December, to supply provisions and clothing for the suffering.

USE OF GUANO.—At the recent meeting of the Herts (England) Agricultural Society, Sir E. B. Lytton stated that within the last three years, independently of the sum expended on ordinary manures, the farmers of Great Britain had laid out five millions sterling in the purchase of guano, and that within the same period a million of fresh acres had been brought into cultivation.

THE TEHUANTEPEC TRANSIT.—The Mexican correspondent of the New Orleans *Delta* gives a favorable account of the progress of the work on the Tehuantepec Transit route, under the auspices of the New Orleans company. The carriage road from Suchil toward the Pacific terminus, fifty-three miles are now open and capable of use.

BREADSTUFFS FOR ENGLAND.—The Philadelphia *American* says: "During the last month there was shipped from this port, by packets and steamers, over 80,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of corn, and 26,000 barrels of flour to England."

GREAT SNOW STORM.—The Auburn (N. Y.) *American* of the 1st inst. says:

"Yesterday a few flakes of snow sifted down here, but in Oswego and Jefferson counties the storm was very severe. A friend informs us that a passenger train of two coaches, drawn by two locomotives, was six hours on the road. The fires were repeatedly extinguished by the accumulation of snow, and at one place it was found to be 18 inches in depth! This remarkable for this time of the year. It snowed all around us."

FREIGHT DETAINED.—The Indianapolis *Journal* states that the amount of freight scattered along the Bellefontaine railroad, and switched off at way places, is almost incredible. At Indianapolis, the freight trains cannot get nearer the Union depot than seven miles! On Friday night of last week, a train came in, consisting of forty-two cars loaded with goods for the Western market.

SENATOR SUMNER.—We learn that the Hon. Charles Sumner, by the advice of his physician, Dr. Perry, proceeded to the residence of Professor Longfellow, at Cambridge, yesterday afternoon, in order to avoid the excitement attendant upon the reception of the election returns. We are happy to learn that Mr. Sumner is apparently no worse than before he left Philadelphia, although the excitement had so much effect upon him that he was obliged to take morphine before he could sleep. He yesterday attempted the labor of directing some documents to Europe, but the exertion was too much, and he was obliged to desist. Rest, quiet, and absence from excitement, seem to be the essentials of any improvement in his case, and it is to be hoped that this fact will be remembered by his friends in their demonstrations of esteem and regard.

"JIM WATSON'S NOTE BOOK."—On the plantation of James Watson, near Port Gibson, Mississippi, may be witnessed an exhibition of memory that is truly remarkable. An African girl, about 14 years of age, answers to the name which heads this article. It is the custom of Watson to give rewards for overwork, and during the cotton-picking season, the amount which each hand picks is weighed twice per day—noon and night. This girl stands by the overseer, and listens to the number of pounds nun ounced to each hand, and at night the result is reported with the utmost accuracy. Her correctness is repeatedly put to the test by Watson and others, who keep memorandums during the weighing, and a day or two afterwards she is catechised, and her memory found perfect. Mr. Watson works from 60 to 70 hands. What system of association this girl has to remember abstract numbers, she is unable to tell.

FROM HAVANA.—*New Orleans, Nov.* 5.—The steamer Black Warrior, from Havana, with dates to the 2d, has arrived. A Spanish brig of war had sailed from Havana with the thousand stand of arms for the insurrectionists of San Domingo. Active preparations were being made to invade Mexico.

ARTIFICIAL ICE.—Prof. Meriam, of weather notoriety, is travelling, and has written a letter to the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, from the banks of the Cuyahoga Ohio, dated the 31st nlt. We give the following extract:

"This afternoon I have been engaged in examining a machine made here for producing intense cold by artificial means. The machine, after having been worked an hour, brought down the mercury in the thermometer to the line of twenty-four degrees below zero, which was the lowest degree marked on the scale. I cut an apple, and placed it on the outside of one of the metal pipes in which a current of ether was made to pass through a vacuum, and in a few minutes it was frozen. This machine has been two years in being brought to its present state of great forwardness. It is worked by steam. It freezes water, forming blocks of ice twelve inches by six—that being the size of the metal cells in which the refrigeration takes place. These cells are separated from the others by what may be called a flue. A large number of these cells are placed in what may be called a square cistern, and of sufficient number to produce a ton of ice in one operation. Clothing of personal comfort, to guarantee in vessels can be frozen by this machine, and thus divested of the germs of pestilence. It can be made to frost the entire inside of a ship in a few hours, and thus purify its hold and its other apartments; and it is capable of reducing the temperature of stone warehouses so low as to free the goods stored in the refrigerated apartments from everything infected with yellow fever."

S. P. CHASE.

AMERICAN ORGAN.—We have for some time contemplated a change in our *daily* issue, in two respects: *first*, to make it a morning paper; and, *second*, to enlarge it to the size of the *National Intelligencer*. These changes will, however, only be made *in the event of the election of Mr. Fillmore*, who, in our opinion, will be elected, if the election shall be thrown into the House of Representatives. If either of the opposing candidates shall be elected, the daily issue will be indefinitely suspended. It is our present purpose to continue the weekly issue, without reference to the result of the Presidential contest. It is impossible for a daily paper to be sustained in Washington without Government patronage.—*Amer. Organ, Nov.* 4.

ANOTHER DREADFUL STORM.—*Buffalo, Nov.* 5.—There was another severe gale on Lake Erie last night; and, as a large number of vessels left on the previous day, and as but few of them have been heard from, it is feared that many have met with disasters.

The harque American Republic, from Chicago, on entering the harbor last night, went aground the breakwater, and filled with water immediately. She was loaded with 18,300 bushels of wheat. The crew were rescued.

The propeller St. Joseph, with a full cargo of merchandise, is ashore at Fairport, and in a dangerous situation. Her crew have not yet been heard from. The sea is breaking over her. Several schooners are reported ashore, and many badly damaged.

EXCITEMENT IN SALISBURY, N. C.—The Salisbury *Banner*, of the 28th ult., has the following account of the reception in that place of ex-Professor Hedrick, who was lately turned out of the University of North Carolina for expressing Abolition sentiments:

"Our usually quiet town was the scene of great uproar and disorderly conduct on Tuesday night last. It became known that Prof. Hedrick was in town as a delegate to the Educational Convention, which was then in session; this was calculated to excite the indignant feelings of many of our citizens, who determined to disperse, and compel him to leave. An effigy was prepared, and placed in front of the Presbyterian church, where the Convention was in session; and on the adjournment of the Convention, the effigy was burnt in the presence of the Professor and nearly every member of the Convention. This onght to have satisfied the crowd, but it was only the beginning of the riotous proceedings. They soon collected in a large force, and proceeded, under much excitement and uproar, to the Presbyterian church, where Professor Hedrick was lodging; then came the 'tug of war.' They halloed, hissed, groaned, and proceeded in a riotous and repreehensible manner to compel Hedrick to leave the town. The excitement became so intense, and greater disorder prevailed, as they proceeded. The rabble was finally quieted by the appearance of several of our citizens, who prevailed upon them to disperse."

The President has appointed Thomas Cunningham, of Beaver, (Pa.,) to the Supreme Judgeship, rendered so by supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Burrill. Mr. Cunningham is one of the electors on the Buchanan ticket in Pennsylvania.

ESCAPE OF TOWNSEND, THE MAIL ROBBER.—*Newcastle, Del., Nov.* 10.—Townsend, the noted mail rohber, has again broke out of the Newcastle jail. He cut his irons and broke through the floor of the prison, and is now at liberty. This is his third escape from prison.

SHIPWRECK AND PROBABLE LOSS OF LIFE.—*Oswego, November* 10.—It is feared that the propeller J. W. Brooks was lost in the late gale on Lake Ontario, including the crew of about twenty persons, besides one passenger. Several men who were reported in peril on Saturday, on board the schooner Dashler, have been rescued.

FIRE AT SYRACUSE, N. Y.—*Syracuse, Nov.* 8.—At three o'clock this morning, the largest fire that has ever visited our city broke out in the first story, and, in the short space of three hours, over twelve acres were laid in ashes, one hundred buildings consumed. The entire loss can fall little short of one million of dollars, and may reach more. Over one hundred families have been rendered homeless. The fire was undoubtedly the work of an incendiary.

ALEXANDER M. BEEBEE, LL. D., for thirty years past the editor of the Baptist *Register*, at Utica, in this State, died in that city on Thursday last, at the age of seventy-three years. He has left a large circle of friends and admirers, and his death is very generally regretted, especially by the members of the Baptist church.

NEWFOUNDLAND AND TRANS-ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.—*New York, Nov.* 9.—We understand that the New York and Newfoundland Telegraph Line will be open through to St. John's to-morrow—congratulatory messages between the company here and Governor Dudley, of Newfoundland, having passed over the wires yesterday. The line from New York to Newfoundland is one thousand seven hundred and fifteen miles in length, built for the most part through a wilderness country, and has cost the company, including the expense of the cable, about half a million of dollars.

We are advised by our Liverpool correspondent that the contemplated Trans-Atlantic Telegraph Company has actually been formed in London, under the auspices of Sir John Brett, who has had the superintendence of all the great submarine telegraphic enterprises in Europe, and that half of the requisite capital to complete the line from Newfoundland to Ireland was immediately taken up, and no difficulty whatever was anticipated in obtaining the balance. Contracts, looking to the certain completion of the line across the Atlantic next summer, were being negotiated with one of the Loudon Submarine Telegraph Manufacturing Companies, and no doubt was entertained, when the Canada sailed, but that the manufacture of the Trans-Atlantic cable would be celebrated on the first of November, and be successfully submerged between Newfoundland and Ireland in all of the month of July, 1857.

☞ The following is a model proclamation:

PROCLAMATION,

By the Governor of the State of Ohio.

In conformity with a custom, sanctioned by Legislative resolves, commended by the practice of my predecessors, in the Executive office, and in itself highly becoming a Christian People, I, Salmon P. Chase, Governor of the State of Ohio, do hereby designate and appoint Thursday, the 20th day of November, of the current year, to be observed as a day of *Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God.*

Refraining, on that day, from the ordinary avocations of life, let us keep the feast with joyful hearts. Assembling in our respective places of public worship, or gathering around our domestic altars, let us devoutly acknowledge GOD as the Gracious Author of every blessing and every benefit. Let us gratefully thank Him, especially, for our prosperity and for our security; for our Institutions of Education, Religion, and Charity; for the products of our Agriculture and of our Arts; for the Intercourse of Commerce; for the preservation of Health; for Homes endeared by sweet family affections; for the blessings of Redemption, and for the Hopes of Immortality. Adoring the Divine Wisdom by which our Fathers were guided in establishing the foundations of United Empire in North America, upon the solid basis of Civil and Religious Liberty, and the Divine Goodness by which the Institutions of Government which they founded have been transmitted to us their children, let us give thanks for Liberty, guarded by Law, and defended by Union.

Confessing, humbly, our unworthiness of these inestimable benefits, let us fervently invoke our Father in Heaven to continue them graciously to us, and to our posterity forever. Nor let us forget, in rejoicing or in supplications, our fellow-men less happy than ourselves. Of our abundance, let us give liberally to those who need; nor let us fail to present, before the throne of Infinite Justice, our sincere prayers for the deliverance of those who are the children of the oppressed, for the enfranchisement of the enslaved, and for the establishment, everywhere, of Human Rights and Just Governments. Invigorated by enjoyments and aspirations like these, we shall return to our work of the ordinary pursuits of life, with hearts more than ever engaged to the performance of every private and every public duty, and more than ever devoted to the advancement of the best interests of our State and Country.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of Ohio, at Columbus, this 28th day of October, A. D. 1856.

S. P. CHASE.

By the Governor.

J. H. BAKER, *Secretary of State.*

EXTRACT FROM MR. BUCHANAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

His Approbation of the Cincinnati Platform.

In accepting the nomination, I need scarcely say that I accept in the same spirit the resolutions constituting the platform of principles erected by the Convention. To this platform, I intend to confine myself throughout the canvass, believing that I have no right, as the candidate of the Democratic party, by announcing interrogatories, to present new and different issues before the people.

It will not be expected that in this answer I should specially refer to the subject of each of the resolutions; and I shall therefore confine myself to the two topics now most prominently before the people.

And, in the first place, I cordially concur in the sentiments expressed by the Convention on the subject of civil and religious liberty. No party founded on religious or political intolerance towards any class of American citizens, whether born in our own or in a foreign land, can long continue to exist in this country. We are all equal before God and the Constitution; and the dark spirit of despotism and bigotry which would create an odious distinction among our fellow-citizens, will be speedily rebuked by a free and enlightened public opinion.

The agitation of the question of domestic Slavery has too long distracted and divided the people of this Union, and estranged their affections from each other. The agitation has assumed many forms since its commencement, but it now seems to be directed chiefly to the Territories; and, judging from its present character, I think we may safely anticipate that it is rapidly approaching a "finality." The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic Slavery, derived, as it has been, from the original and proper fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises ere long to allay the dangerous excitement. This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as the government itself, and in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide, for themselves, whether Slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self-government, declaring it to be "the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." This principle will surely not be controverted by any individual of any party professing devotion to popular government. Besides, how vain and illusory would any other principle prove in practice! In regard to the Territories! This is apparent from the bare fact that by law, that after a Territory shall have entered into the Union and become a State, no constitutional power would then exist which could prevent it from either abolishing or establishing Slavery, as its sovereign people, according to its sovereign will and pleasure.

Most happy would it be for the country, if this long agitation were at an end. During its whole progress, it has produced no practical good to any human being, whilst it has been the source of great and dangerous evils. It has alienated and estranged one portion of the Union from the other, and has even seriously threatened its permanent existence. To my own personal knowledge, it has produced this impression, among foreign nations, that our great and glorious Confederacy is in constant danger of dissolution. This does us serious injury, because authentic information and stability always command respect among nations, and are among the best securities against unjust aggression, and in favor of the maintenance of honorable peace.

May we not hope that it is the mission of the Democratic party, now the only surviving conservative party of the country, ere long to overthrow all sectional parties, and restore the peace, stability, and mutual confidence, which prevailed in the good old times, among the different members of the Confederacy. Its character is strictly national, and it therefore asserts no principle for the guidance of the Federal Government which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State. For this reason, it is everywhere the same determined foe of all geographical parties, so much and so justly dreaded by the Father of his Country. From its very nature it must continue to exist so long as there is a Constitution and a Union to preserve. A conviction of these truths has induced many of the purest, the ablest, and most independent of our former opponents, who have adhered to us in times gone by, upon old and extinct party issues, to come into our ranks, and devote themselves with us to the cause of the Constitution and the Union. Under these circumstances, I most cheerfully pledge myself, should the nomination of the Convention be ratified by the people, that all the power and influence, constitutionally possessed by the Executive, shall be exerted, during the conciliatory spirit, during the single term I shall remain in office, to restore the same harmony among the sister States which prevailed before this apple of discord, in the form of Slavery agitation, had been cast into their midst. Let the members of the Democratic party, without meddling with the exclusive domestic concerns of each other, and cordially unite, on the basis of perfect equality among themselves, in proclaiming to the national objects of common interest to all, and the good work will be instantly accomplished.

OFFICIAL KANSAS COMMITTEE REPORT.

A few copies of the above Report, containing all the evidence before the Committee, with the Majority and Minority Reports make a volume of 1266 pages, bound in cloth, can be had at 50 cents per copy, free of postage, by addressing

L. CLEPHANE,
Secretary Republican Association,
Washington, D. C.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, Nov. 10.—The American mail steamer Baltic arrived here this morning, from Liverpool, with dates to the 29th ult.

The steamer Africa arrived at Liverpool on the morning of the 27th.

The feature of the news which has excited most attention is an official paragraph in the *Monitor*, complaining of the English press publishing calumnies against the French Government, and holding out the menace that a continuance of such conduct will break up the Anglo-French Alliance. This paragraph caused some excitement, both in England and France, having affected the Paris bourse. It is reported that the English Government will ask an explanation of the threat to dissolve the Alliance.

Respecting the Neapolitan difficulty, the only additional progress made is that the French Embassy, and probably also the British, left Naples on the 26th.

Count Walewski's official correspondence with the Neapolitan Government is published.

The English fleet had left Malta but the French fleet was still at Toulon. The German papers say that a squadron will go to Naples in three weeks, if the matter is not settled.

There is nothing new respecting the complicated relations with the Danubian Principalities. It is denied from Vienna, but reported in France, that the Porte has summoned the Austrians to quit the Principalities. In this connection there are two versions—firstly: That the Congress of Paris is not likely to meet soon, owing to the non-assent of England; and, secondly, that Russia, inspired by suspicion of a secret understanding between England and Austria respecting the Principalities, demands that the Russian squadron shall enter the Black Sea on the same terms as the English fleet now in those waters.

The entire Turkish Ministry had resigned, at the latest accounts. The event is attributed to the intrigues of Lord Stratford in trying to Redschid Pasha as Vizier.

There is no news from Spain, except of a contemplated increase of the army.

Letters from France are not satisfactory. The demand for money continues unabated.

The English Board of Trade Returns for September have been issued. Notwithstanding the extraordinary importations during the preceding three months, which showed an average excess of £2,000,000 per month'over the corresponding months of last year, the total again presents considerable improvement, the difference, as compared with September, 1855, being £1,144,012. The chief increase has been again in metals—the foreign demand for iron rails, as well as for manufactures in iron, copper, and tin, having been extensive.

COMMERCIAL MARKETS.

Liverpool, Oct. 29.—Cotton.—Richardson, Spence, & Co., quote cotton less firm under the news by the Africa, with a turn in favor of buyers, though the market was generally unchanged, with prices.

Breadstuffs.—The market is quiet, and generally unchanged. Wheat.—There is a better feeling in the market; fine qualities have advanced 1d. Richardson, Spence, & Co., quote red wheat at 8s. 3d. @ 9s. 3d.; white 9s. 9d. @ 10s. 4d.. Flour.—Western canal 24s. @ 32s.; Baltimore and Philadelphia 32s. 6d. @ 33s. 6d.; Ohio, 35s. @ 37s. 6d. Corn generally dull; yellow and mixed 33s. 6d; white corn 34s. @ 35s. 6d.

Provisions.—The market closed quiet, and generally unchanged. Lard is very dull; quotations nominal at 74s. Tallow, North American.—Market steady at 57s. 6d.

London Markets.—Sugar is generally active and firm. Coffee closed firm; linseed oil is steady at 40s. @ 40s. 6d. Cotton.—Middling Orleans and Middling Mobiles, 6¾; middling Uplands 6¾. Cotton closed steady.

Produce, Common.—The market is generally unchanged—sales at 4s. 6d.; Quercitron bark 13s. 6d. @ 14s.; Philadelphia 12s. 6d.

Consols.—The prices were rescued. Consols for money closed at 92s. (@ 92¼.

THE LATEST.

The pressure in the money market at Hamburg has fully subsided. The rates of discount were seven per centum.

A despatch from St. Petersburg says that railway concessions have been granted to a French company for eighty years, under a guarantee of 4½ per cent., with an additional ½ per cent. for a sinking fund. The total sum required is 40,000,000 sterling, which will weigh down all the Russian securities in the market, and, in somo degree, every other enterprise.

Vienna (Tuesday evening) correspondence denies emphatically the statement that the Porte has protested against the Austrian occupation of the Principalities.

London, Tuesday Evening.—The variation in the funds to-day was slight, the market closing heavy yesterday. The important failure of Messrs. Tax, Henderson, & Co., intended to prejudice the market. The supply of money for the discount market is more liberal, but many holders are still unwilling to lend. All the money offered at the stock exchange found full employment at 5½ @ 6 per centum.

Further Foreign News by the Baltic.

New York, Nov. 10.—The following is sent forward specially for the Baltimore *Sun:*

Naples and the Allies.—A well-informed London correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* says:

"France and England could not agree upon a line of action in the affairs of Naples, which, in various contingencies that might arise, would lead, with tolerable certainty, to a satisfactory result. The mere demonstration, therefore, is contemplated, and the combined fleets are sent merely for the protection of the respective subjects."

The same correspondent says, that the prevailing opinion in England regarding the belligerent attitude of the *Monitor* is, that it had reference to financial articles in the French press upon the monetary crisis and the Bank of France. The article in question amounts to nothing.

The report that Turkey had demanded the withdrawal of the English vessels from the Black Sea, is untrue.

POPULAR

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLICAN SENTIMENT.

From the New York Evening Post, November 5.

THE ELECTION OF YESTERDAY.

The hattle is over, aud we are all waiting for the smoke to clear away, that we may see the exact position of the armies which have been engaged in the conflict. The present aspect of the field is disastrous for the cause which we have supported. We will not undertake to say at present that all hope is lost; we will not affirm that it is impossihle that the reports we are yet to hear from Pennsylvania may change the apparent defeat into a victory; we will not yet affirm that there is no chancs that the election may he carried into the House of Representatives. Tbe chances for Fillmore in Kentucky and Louisiaua were thonght a week since to he as good as in Maryland, which it is said has heen carried for the Fillmore electoral ticket.

But, taking it for granted that Buchanan has succeeded, we confess that there are some considerations which, with us, mitigate the pain of disappointment. If we have uot carried the United States, we have obtained hoavy majorities iu a part of the Union which stands high iu the Confederacy for intelligence and prosperity, and which, througb these characteristics, exercises a powsrful influence on public opinion. We have at least laid tho hasis of a formidable and well-organized party, in opposition to the spread of Slavsry—that scheme which is the scandal of the country and of the age. In those States of the Union which have now given such large majorities for Fremont, public opinion, which till lately has heen undecided and whiffling in regard to the Slavery question, is now clear, fixsd, and resolute. If we look hack to 1848, when we conducted a Presidential election on this very ground of opposition to the extension of Slavery, we shall see that we have made immens strides towards the ascendency, which, if there be any grounds to hope for the perpetuity of free institutions, is yet to be ours. We were then comparatively weak, we are now strong; we then counted our thousands, we now count our millions; we could then point to our respectable minorities in a few States, we now point to State after State—to powerful old States on the Atlantic, and flourishing young States in the West—which rally with us under the banner of resistance to the extension of Slavery. The cause is not going back—it is rapidly going forward; the Free Soil party of 1848 is the nucleus of the Republican party of 1856; hut with what accessions of numbers, of strength, of illustrious names, of moral power, of influence, not merely in public assemhlies, but at the domestic fireside!

If uot strong enough to triumph now, it is growing up to win a glorious triumph hereafter. It is a youthful cause; and with all the vigor and health of youth in its constitution, it is able to bear hardship. The present hardships will knit its frame more firmly, and give it strengtb. It is triumphant already in those parts of our conntry in which knowledge is most generally diffused, aud public opinion is most readily influenced by free discussion. It has fougbt a good fight, even in those parts of the free States in which the population are the most ignorant, and cling longest to the prejudices which they attach to party uames. Even there, it has made a progress which promises it the mastery hereafter.

Meantime, if the victory he, as it now seems, with Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore will stand hefore the country in no enviable light. But for him and his friends, the opposition to the Administration of Mr. Pierce, and to tbe continuance of his policy under Buchanan, was strong enough to have beaten the party of Cushing and Forney—ignoble names both—and by that defeat to have settled the question of Slavery, wrested from the slaveholders the monopoly of the territory which they have grasped, and give peace and prosperity to Kansas. Mr. Fillmore has merely played iuto Buchanan's hands; and having done all the mischief in his power, is dismissed to that obscurity and contempt which is the just lot of weak men who, by appeals to their personal amhition, are persuaded to interfere with the success of a good cause.

From the same, November 6.

Thus far, tho elections of Tuesday havc heen an emphatic expression of the popular feeling in the frec States. It is worth all the lahors and anxieties of the campaign which has just closed, to ohtain so full and commanding a declaration of public opinion against the great crime of the day—so decided a condemnation of those who have heen actors in it. The delinquents have heeu heard and condemned; the faithful servants of the people who resisted the wrong have been sustained and honored by the people. It is only in those parts of the free States iu which the people are slowest to perceive the real tendency of public measures, in which the great question of the time has been artfully darkeued and kept out of sight hy false interpretations and the interposition of impertinent issues, that this expression of the popular feeling has been at all faltering and imperfect.

From all other parts of the North, it comes in the clearest trumpet tones. All the New England States send to Congress entire delegations hostile to the extension of Slavery. Not a single friend of Buchanan is returned to the House of Representatives from all the populous region east of New York. From all the other States, the friends of Liberty iu Congress will present a strong phalanx, only broken here and there hy a few who wear the livery of Slavery.

VOICE OF THE PRESS—THE PRESENT—THE FUTURE.

From ths New York Daily Trihune, November 5.

We have lost a hattle. The Bunker Hill of the new struggle for Freedom is past; the Saratoga and Yorktown are yet to be achieved. A party of yesterday, without organization, without official power, without prestige, aud latterly almost without hope, has not overhorne the oldest party in the conntry, with its hundred thousaud office-holders, its eighty millions of annual expenditnre, its million and a half of voters, trained by the hahits of a lifetime to vote without question or hesitation whatever bears its label. The Republican party, called into being hy the Nebraska Iuiquity of 1854, having a substantive existence in but sixteen States, has heaten one of the rival parties, which boast of their compact organizations in all the States, hut has failed to beat the other in its first Presidential canvass. James Buchanau is our next President, and John C. Breckinridge Vice President, and the Free State men of Kansas are temporarily delivered over to the tender mercies of the Border Ruffians, tempered hy the colder but not less fatal craft of the Federal patrons of those Ruffians, who have just aided in securing to those patrons another four years' lease of power.

It is well to state the case thus fairly in its broadest aud worst aspects. Practically, a majority of the American people have endorsed outrages more inhuman than Poland or Hungary ever endured, and voted that it is no wrong to shoot aud scalp men in Kansas for peacefully striving to keep theirs a free Territory, and make it a free State. Practically, the verdict of yesterday has enslaved Kansas, and made it treason and rebellion for her devoted inhabitants to struggle longer to avert that destiny. Practically, the hrutal Ruffians who yesterday at most of the polls throughout the free States jeered at "bleeding Kausas"—thus making sport of robbery, arson, rape, and murder—have been endorsed and commended by the vote of their fellow citizens. Practically, the American People have reversed the policy of Slavery Restriction inaugurated hy our Revolutionary patriots, and decided that Liberty and Slavery are equal iu merit and equally accordant with the genius of Democracy. Practically, the Slave Power has been bidden to take possession of the Federal Government, and ride roughshod over all who manifest opposition to its pleasure or repugnance to its sway. Practically, it is settled that to loathe the debasement of Man to brute chattelhood, and earnestly desire Freedom for all, is a crime in free America, to he punished hy exclusion from the National Councils and a denial of any voice in the direction of our public affairs.

Such, we say, is the practical effect of yesterday's vote; yet it is one unintended by a large majority of the voters. Aside from the Million who vote any ticket called Democratic merely because of its desiguation, there are hundreds of thousands who voted for Bucbanan or Fillmore, hoping, trusting, praying, (so many of them as do uot rigidly insist on the divorce of Politics from Religion,) that their triumph would not conduce to the enslavement of Kansas or the extension in auy respct of the area of Human Bondage. They meant to vote that "Americans shall rule America"—that no man shonld he proscribed on acconnt of his religion or nativity—that the Union should not be dissolved—that Slavery should not he disturhed in the slave States—that the people of the Territories should havs the privilege of deciding whether to have Slavery or not—they *did not* meau to endorse the series of frauds and crimes hy which Kansas has heen put under the fset of the Border Ruffians. But, no matter what they meant, the effect of their vote is to make Kansas this day a slave Territory, in defiance of the earnest struggle of three-fourths of her inhabitants, and place her on the high road to become a slave State. The Border Ruffians of Missouri have not been able to suhjugate her to Slavery; but the people of the United States are stronger, and have done it. It is constructive treason henceforth to defy in Kansas the atrocious code of laws imposed on that Territory by Missouri invasion and ballot-box stuffing; it is felony to say in Kansas that Slavery is not legally estahlished there by this execrahle and impudent villany. A hard winter and a fearful ordeal are before our already sorely-tried hrethren in Kansas. Heaven give thsm strength to endure and outlive their most unmerited sufferings.

For their saks, we mourn this result; for that of the glorious party which has sprung to life under the inspiration of a generous indignation at their wrongs and sympathy with their efforts, we do not regrct it. To that party the future presents a cloudless sky. All the poor trash which has been used to hlind and delude the people—the habble ahout Fremont's hirthplace, cattle contracts, duels, (unfought,) Romanism, &c.—are henceforth lumber of the past. The base pretence that "bleeding Kansas" was an invention of the Rspuhlicans to carry the election, can deceive no one longer. Thousands who would not hear or read the truth with regard to daily occurrences on the Missouri hordsr, will hear and read it now, when they know that it cannot have been trumped up to elect Fremont or defeat Buchanan. Those who did not mean, in voting for Buchanan, to doom Kansas to Slavery against her will, will be enligbtened by the results certain to follow. The Slave Power has won a great triumph; it will take care to improve and enjoy it. Only let the People observe and read what must inevitably follow this result, and they cannot long acquiesce in the rule wbich a majority have unwittingly invoked. Meantime, let us quietly preserve and perfect our organizations; let each township and ward have its Republicau Clnh, composed of all, whether few or many, who are willing to labor for the unobtrusive dissemination of truth, and this hour of darkness will prelude a glorious morning. The overthrow of the slave-hreeders' rule is too great, too heneficent a revolution, to be sffected in a year; with time, faith, and energy, victory must ennre to the Right. "Let ns never despair of the American Rspublic."

POSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

From the New York Daily Times, Nov. 6.

It is not often that a defeated party is left in so solid aud strong a position as that which the Rspuhlicans in the Union now occupy. They have contested the ground with rare vigor and energy, and, for a new party—undisciplined, insxperienced, almost unorganized, surrounded hy difficulties and entangled hy half-alliances, which hrought certain weakness with only a faint promise of compensating strength—they have certainly achieved very extraordinary results. They have almost consolidated the North; and we are inclined to believe that their candidate will be found to have received a decided *plurality of the popular vote* of the Union. If such a party is to be broken up, it can only be by an extraordinary concurrence of fortunate events, or by a politic sagacity which the country has not hitherto witnessed in the Democratic party. Mr. Buchanan will not find it an easy matter to fulfil all the pledges, expressed and implied, which have brought him into favor.

From the same, November 6.

COL. FREMONT.

In spite of the adverse result, no party ever had a more gallant or more excellent candidate than Colonel Fremont. No man uuder such circumstances ever bore himself more nobly, more prudently, or more discreetly, through such a contest. Although he has heen assailed with a malignity and a licence of calumny seldom paralleled in the history of the country, all this storm of detraction has never moved him for a moment from his propriety, or led to a single act unworthy his character or his cause.

Nor was there another man in the United States who could have aroused so much enthusiasm, and brought so large a vote to the Republican party, as he has done. No man can charge upon him one particle of the responsibility for the disastrous result; with any other candidate, the disaster would have heen much greater.

Whether Col. Fremont is ever to be a candidate hereafter, must be left to the fnture. It would be neither just nor wise to open another Presidential canvass now. These contests must always take their shape and character from the events and emergencies of the times. The country must have some experience of the new Administration, before it enters upon the task of superseding it by another.

From the New York Herald.

ELECTION OF MR. BUCHANAN AND A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS—SHOALS AND BREAKERS AHEAD.

With the election of Mr. Buchanan, and with a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress, the first conclusion would he, that he has secured everything essential to a smooth, respectahle, and successful Administration. But such is not the case. His Administration, from the outset, will be surrounded with difficulties and perplexities more numerous and formidahle than those which any President has been called upon to grapple with since the organization of tbe Government.

In the first place, his majority in the House of Representatives is an uncertain and slippery majority. The gains, in many instances, which his party have secured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and New York, are gains achieved upon false issues, and particularly false upon the test question of Kansas. Let the Southern Democracy try these Northern gentlemen upon a bill for the admission of Kansas as a slave State, and they will most probably discover that they have made a lamentable blunder in their calculations, and that their Democratic majority in the House is hy no means a harmonious working majority for the extension of Slavery according to the Kansas policy of Atchison, Jeff. Davis, and Franklin Pierce.

We are not kept in douht concerning the programme of the ruling Democratic secession faction of the South. The leading article, which we transfer to this paper from that outspoken confidential organ of Jefferson Davis—the New Orleans *Delta*—is singularly frank in the exposition of his policy as the great Southern Warwick of the Democratic party. He has ruled the Administration of poor Pierce with a rod of iron—he has left the imprint of his power upon the Cincinnati platform of Mr. Buchanan; and with his transfer to the United States Senate, this conspirator, Davis—this arch-agitator of Slavery extension, secession, and a Southern confederacy—will be in a position to work out more effectively his mischievous designs upon Mr. Pierce's suooessor. His present programme, as laid down in his confidantial organ, is, after the admission of Kansas as a slave State—

First. Tbe reduction of the whole of Central America to a slaveholding confederacy under Gen. Walker.

Secondly. A descent from Nicaragua, by Walker, upon Cuba and the West India islands generally, the re-establishment of Slavery in those islands where it has heen abolished, and the annexation of the whole lot to tbe Union.

Thirdly. The adoption of this policy of Slavery extension as the Union-preserving plank in the Democratic platform of 1860.

With regard to tbe prospects of this grand and sweeping programme, this organ of Jefferson Davis and his powerful factiou has its misgivings. It confesses its fears of the Northern Democrats elected to the next Congress; and the fact that the cause of Mr. Buchanan himself has been pushed forward in the North upon tbe policy of hostility to the extension of Slavery it regards as a very had omen. "But, after all," says tho *Delta*, "we have the Ostend manifesto, to which Mr. Buchanan is pledged." This will do; for in this secession-slavery-extension programme, and in these misgivings and fears of the confidential organ of Mr. Davis, we have disclosed to the naked eye the budget of emharrassments which will surround Mr. Buchanan at the very outset of his career.

But again: We mnst not overlook the delicate duty of the appointment of a new Cabinet. How is Mr. Buchanan to satisfy the country, or to secure a reasonahle cohesion of the conservative masses of tbe party, if he sball fail to secure a homogeneous Cabinet of Union and oonservative men? The fatal mistake of poor Pierce was his mosaic Cahinet of factionists, disunionists, and secessionists. To avoid splitting to pieces upon the same breakers, Mr. Buchanan must repudiate from his Cabinet, and all other offices of honor, confidence, or emolument, all such preachers of treason and disunion as Jefferson Davis, Governor Wise, Toombs, Slidell, Benjamin, Brooks, Keitt, Johnson of Georgia, Mason and Hunter of Virginia, Atchison, Stringfellow, and Forney. They must be repudiated aud sent ahout their husiness; for all that class of men who counsel rsvolution and disunion against the will of the American psople, should it go against them, are unworthy the countenance or confidence of the President of the United States, whose first official pledge is to support the Constitution.

The election, hy the divisions of the opposition forces and a sèries of accidents, has resulted in favor of Buchanan. Now the work among the various managers, cliques, and coteries of the Democracy, North aud South, for the first seats at the table, hegins. Mr. Buchanan will soon discover what Mr. Jefferson Davis and bis controlling secessiou faction expect and demand; he will perceive, on the returns of the election, however, that some steps of conciliation in behalf of the North are indispensable to the continued existence of the Democratic party. Inevitably he must disappoint the North or the South; and for the present, with the Southern programme of Jefferson Davis bsfore him, we leave him to his reflections upon this interestiug question.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

We insert ths following letters, addressed by Messrs. Botts and Raynsr, to friends in Philadelphia, before the election, in support of the policy of a nnion of the Opposition elements. They constitute an important part of the history of a most important canvass:

Letter from the Hon Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, the leading Fillmore Man at the South.

* * * * * * * * *

In reply to your second inquiry, whethsr the Southern people seriously contemplate a dissolution of the Union, in case Fremont should be elected, I answer, no!—emphatically, no! The masses of the Southern people, whether Whigs, Americans, or Democrats, are devoted to the Union; and they will maintain and defend it at the hazard of their lives, and the expenditure of their hearts' best blood. The Democratic leaders of the South, with but few exceptions, are talking of disnnion, and are trying to familiarize the public mind with the idea of disunion, in case Fremont should he elected. And, true to their vocation, they are denouncing as slaves and submissionists all who refuse to unite with them in their mad career. But, even of those who take this gronnd, but few are in serious earnest.

There is a small faction in the Southern States who are *bona fide* Disunionists—who have heen for years maturing their plans—and who would he glad to see Fremont elected, if they thought it would bring abont disunion. This faction is inconsiderable in numhers, and bears ahont the same relation, numerically, to the people of the South, tbat the band of crazy fanatics at the North, who denonnce the Constitution and the Union as "a league with hell," bear to the people of the Northern States. But the great majority of the Democratio leaders in the South, who are mouthing and gasconading about party disunion, do so for party effect. Tbeir object is to frighten the timid and wavering. Their purpose is to drive others to the support of Buchanan through their fears. It is no care for the institution of Slavery—it is no concern for the rights of the South—that stimulates their belligerent propensities. It is because they are alarmed at the prospect of their loss of political power—at the chances of their being deprived of office—at the bare idea of being driven from the National Treasury—that, like hungry wolves, overtaken at their prey, they raise this howl of disunion. They are not in earnest, and if they were, it wonld he all the same.

Fortunately for us, and thanks to the nature of our institutions, this Union can't be dissolved, except by resorting to the source of all power—the people at the hallot-hox. And when that first appeal is made, the mass of *all parties* will be found true to the Union. They will not agree to overthrow this Government, because a man, no matter how odious or obnoxious to them he may be, has been elected President—provided he has been fairly elected, in strict accordance with all the forms of the Constitution and the laws. Yon may rely on it, that the masses of the Democratic party will desert their leaders, whenever they attempt to commit them to Disunion because they have been beaten in an election. It is a reproach and an insult to the Southern people to say that they would destroy this Union for any such cause; and, as a Sonthern man, I hurl hack the charge as a slander and a wrong upon the conservative masses of tbe South. The people of the South know too well what this Union cost—they know too well what its hlessings are—they can too plainly foresee the horrible consequences and dread disasters which might ensue upon its disruption.

I am not to be understood as intimating that the Southern people would submit to any palpahle invasion of their constitntional rights, rather than run the hazards of Disunion. They regard the Union as designed for the protection of their rights and their liberties, and if it were perverted to their destruction, Instead of their preservation, of course they would resist. And if it should so turn out that Fremont is elected—fairly elected—constitutionally elected—if I know anything of the character of the Southern people, they would wait tlll he disclosed his policy. If he were to attempt any invasion of our constitutional rights, and he should he sustained hy other departments of the Goverument, then, I take it for granted, he would be resisted, without reckoning the cost. But in case he attempted no such iuvasion of our rights, I hazard nothing in saying the Southern people would prove true to the past history of the Anglo-Saxon race—whose peculiar national trait has ever been, obedience to law, as long as no vital surrender of civil liherty was involved.

Being no partisan of Fremont, of conrse I have no advice to give or suggestion to make to his friends. But to every friend of Fillmore, I would say, be not alarmed or induced to support Buchanan by these threats of Disunion on the part of the Democratic leaders of the South. They are all vain and idle, and are so regarded here. And even if they were not, the most effective aid you can render to the cause of the Union, is in trying to overthrow the Democratic party, whose continued agitation of the question of Slavery will, if not arrested and rehuked, sow the seeds of disaffection throughout the land, from which posterity mnst ultimately reap the harvest of Disunion.

The approaching election involves conseqnences of the most momentous character. Much, very mnch, almost everything, depends npon Pennsylvania. If tbere is harmony, and concord, and concert of action, among the conservative men, the Union men of Pennsylvania, I fear not the result. If all those who are opposed to Slavery agitatien, who think that the Pierce-Buchanan party deserve to be rehuked for their having brought the conntry to its present unhappy condition, *will unite cordially in the support of the same ticket*, our country may yet be saved, and peace, and calm, and sunshine, will return to our borders. But if they allow differences on minor qnestions to mar their concert and to paralyze their energies, awful may be the consequences which they will entail on their country.

Yours, truly, K. Rayner.

The Progress of our Country.—It is stated that the population of the eleven Infant Colonies in 1701 was 262,000 souls. Georgia and Delaware were added to the nnmher ahout 1749, and the census reports give us 1,046,000. In the year 1775, the thirteen Colonies had 2,303,000 whites and 500,000 slaves. After the adoption of the present Constitution, in 1790, there were thirteen States, with 3,172,664 white, 50,456 free colored, and 697,807 slaves. In 1850, the States had increased to thirty-one, and tbe population to 19,550,000 whites, 434,000 free colored, and 3,204,000 slaves. The total population at this time is approaching thirty millions. The numher of electoral votes is 296, requiring 149 to elect a President hy the people. The free States have 176, and the slave 120.

A FREE GOSPEL NEEDED IN KANSAS.

At the late Convention in Philadelphia of the delegates, clerical and lay, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, the House of Deputies negatived a resolution of the House of Bishops for the appointment of a Missionary Bishop for Nebraska and Kansas. This was certainly a very singular proceeding for a hody professing to believe in the precept, "Preach the Gospel to every creatnre," and not a little indignation has been excited in consequence among the various churches in the country. But the extracts which we have published from a little work hy au Episcopal minister in Kansas may explain the reason. They will show, we think, that there are some creatnres, and among them onr Border Ruffian hrethren, to whom the Gospel cannot safely be preached. This clergyman, the Rev. John McNamara, now of Geneva, Wisconsin, was appointed, by the Domestic Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church, a Missionary for Kansas Territory in 1854. Prior to that, he had been a pupil of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenherg, of this city, and he went to his labors imbued with all that conservative spirit of abstinence from political discussion which characterizes the clergy of his church. He soon found, however, that silence upon the great snbject of introducing Slavery would not protect him from suspicion. The Border Ruffian churchmen among whom he labored insisted npon knowing his sentiments in reference to the snbject; aud on his honest avowal of opposition to their policy, he was subjected to a persecution which rendered necessary his departure from the Territory. With them, the declaration, "I believe in the extension of Slavery," was a necessary portion of the creed. Tbis circumstance is hnmorously illnstrated in our clergyman's rivalry with a minister of the Methodist denomination at Kickapoo. It appears that the Methodist was rather jealous of the establishment of an Episcopal chnrch in that town in advance of his own. This would never do, and he determined to supersede his Anti-Slavery co-worker in the Gospel Ministry. In order, therefore, to secnre possession of the only honse of worship in the place, he appealed at once to the most sensitive prejndices of the inhabitants about him. "He went round," says the narrator, "to inquire where he could purchase 'a nigger.' So the question between the preachers to gain the affections of the people, and to have the privilege of occnpying the log-house on Sunday, was 'nigger or no nigger.' I was 'no nigger,' and I hscame 'no preach.'"

Of a like character was the experience of the Rev. Frederick Starr, of the Presbyterian denomination, whose testimony has heen recently published. We can thus see why the Episcopal Convention appoints no successor to their banished Missionary. The people of the border, we fear, mnst wait for the election of Fremont, before they can enjoy the hlessings of a free Gospel.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

From the Charleston Mercury.

THE PROPOSED SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—THE PRESIDENT AN EXCRESCENCE.

The conclusion we draw is, that, with reference to a permanent structure of government, the Presidency is an uinatnral excrescence upon our system of a Confederacy of States. From the close of the Administration of Washington to the present time, it has heen the centre and source of bitter controversy among the entire people of the country. It has been a source of hateful union among the States, who, without this hond, might possibly have lived in peace. They have many great points of nnion, many grand sources of sympathy. But the Presidency has never failed to stir up every element of discord, to bring into fierce contest all the armies of the spoilers, and to make itself a representative of all the plundering and contentions principles that had open or oovert existence in the Confederacy.

Believing, therefore, that this mighty element of discord, of corruption, and of oentralization, might be perfectly well dispensed with, as far as the just and efficient operations of the Government are concerned, we would propose that, in a Southern Confederation, the President should be dispensed with. It is not necessary for any legitimate action of a Confederate Government. It is ahsurd to snppose that it is necessary to the sanction of tbe laws of such a Government, and equally absurd to suppose it necessary for the conduct of its relations with foreign Powers. All these matters are easily arranged, and tbe change wonld not produce even a passing shock in the progress of events. We might gain a great good, without incurring the least reasonable chance of a small evil.

SOUTH CAROLINA NOT A UNIT FOR DISUNION.

The Clergy Against the Press.

LETTER FROM REV. MR. HEMPHILL.

From the Due West (S. C.) Telegraph, September 24.

We deprecate the election of Fremont, and still hope it will not he effected; if he is, however, we would be willing, as we said before, to *try him a while*, and we are sure that the *Times* and others, who are so rampant for disnnion, will find, when the pinch comes, that thonsands, even in South Carolina, as well as the "Preacher," will be willing to try the Pathfinder a while, rather than bring all the evils on the country and the world that we predict. Of two evils, they will choose the least. But suppose he is eleoted, and we dissolve the Union? Are we ready?

1. Are we ready to cast off the Democrats and others who are battling for the rights of the Sonth, if they do not *quite* carry this election? Here, in South Carolina, we are as placid as the Dead Sea, while in the North thousands on thousands are spending time, money, and energies, in fighting for our rights and their own. Shall we disown them and cast them off if they fail by a few thousand votes to elect the right man for President? As soon as we dissolve the Union, these millions, now contending with us and for us, will no longer be hound to stand by us and the Constitution. Can we afford to throw such a multitude of tried friends over to the ranks of the enemy? Would it be safe? would it he grateful?

2. If the dissolution of the Union would bring war—not a war of one year, hut of ten or twenty years—are we ready for the contest? Where are onr gnn factories? our cannon fonndries? our shot factories? powder mills? our ships of war? and where are our men? In the whole State of South Carolina, at the last census, there were 668,507 inhahitants, black and white. At the same time, in the city of New York alone, the population was 515,574.

As far as regards numbers, wealth, arms, and shipping, New York city itself would he more than a match for the whole white population of South Carolina. Bnt if we are ahle to overthrow that one city, or the city to overcome us, who hnt a hold fanatic wonld desire to see either event accomplished? Every good man recoils at the thought of such a disaster.

Lastly, where is the money to come from, to carry on this interminable war? When we commenced the war with Mexico, it required ten millions to start with. Where conld wo raise one million to hegin the civil war contemplated? Where?

Maj. W. D. Wilkes traversed Sonth Carolina, from the seaboard to the mountains, to raise funds for Kansas. And what did he raise? In his "Reasons for Leaving Kansas" he says, "Of public and private funds, I received the sum of $5,390.53!" A pitiful snm. Are we ready for disunion? for a long civil war—a war which would require our best men, and millions of money—which wonld stop the farming operations in a measure, cripple commerce, destroy religion, and more than likely put an end to Slavery and Freedom too?

No. We will stand by the Union and the Constitution. We will stand by the friends that are standing hy us this day in the North. And what is more, we will stick to the Aholitionists themselves like wax, and if we have to fight them, we'll fight them *in the Union*, and not ont of it; for, if we demand what is only fair, we will always have a party in the North to fight with us; hut if we dissolve the Union, our Northern friends will, of conrse, forsake us when we bluff them off. To conclude, we are dead down against disunion. H.

Dr. Hemphill Taken to Task.

From the Columbia (S. C.) Times, October 8.

In giving publicity to the sentiments of the reverend gentleman, we wish it nnderstood that our sentiments are directly the opposite of those propagated in the article referred to. Our ohject in giving place to it is, that the people of South Carolina and the adjoining States may know the fact *that the first man who has declared a willingness to try Fremont, and made public proclamation of his views in South Carolina, is a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, who taught his disciples to forsake everything and follow Him, and, in the language of the Apostles, preach Christ and him crucified.*

It is not necessary to attempt a studied reply to Mr. Hemphill; his occnpation forbids the nse of his opinions as expressed, in such a manner as to arouse the contempt and rebuke of the pnblic. His comparisons are not such as we would have expected. Weakness of resources and want of numerical force has been assigned as the position of Carolina, whilst energy, capital, and overwhelming numbers, are given to New York. Did such men control the councils of our Revolutionary sires, they never would have ventured resistance to a tyrant's rule.

We of the Sonth have cause to thank God that our ministry have generally kept themselves free from political feuds, and especially from expressions calcnlated to produce unfavorable impressions. Teachers of such sentiments as those contained in the article referred to cannot long retain the respect and confidence of Carolinians.

Mr. Hemphill, although he disclaims the title of doctor, may yet he honored hy having the degree of D. D. conferred by some Northern institution, as he is determined to snstain the Union at all hazards, and stick to the Abolitionists like wax, and fight them *in* the Union.

This is the game that the people of the Sonth have been playing at all the while, but they have in every case come off second hest, and so we fear they will continue to do nntil, like Samson, they are shorn of their strength, and are literally hound hand and foot as playthings for a Northern rahble.

We now dismiss the suhject, and leave the reader to decide for himself whether the Rev. Mr. Hemphill has done much to enlist the respect and sympathy of the people of the South, or produce discord and bitter feeling, which he has been anointed to allay, by teacbing men that it is their duty to love God and ohey his commandments.

THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Grand Programme of Jefferson Davis—Slavery Extension to be the Union-preserving Plank in the Democratic Platform.

The New Orleans *Delta*, one of the most rahid disunionist Buchanan papers in the country, trkes Buchanan's election for grantsd, and claims all the credit for the South. It closes its article as follows:

Mr. Buchanan, if elected, will owe his success entirely to the reaction in the Northern mind, caused by the determined attitude of the Southern party. We may be called Extremists, or Fireeaters, or what not—it doss not matter. While we cannot be driven into the abandonment of principle to serve party success, we are ready to maintain the rights and institutions of the South, even to disnnion. This conviction we have fostered in the Southern mind. It is a pity it was not fostered there twenty years since. It would have saved to the parties a deal of trouble. But the Southern party has something else to do now. Having checked for a time the Black Republican crusade, we mnst push forward those reforms at home which are necessary for the assertion and maintenance of our equality in the Union, or of our nationality and independence out of it.

Rememher that Nicaragua and Cuba are vastly more important to ns tban Kansas Territory, though we should not renonnce the latter. Mexico is not far off. The genius of commercial empire heckons to ns from Tehuantepec. But Nicaragua is the great political nucleus; and while the "National" men of the South are husy over the spoils of the victory won through the courage and boldness of the Southern party, let us put forth all our strength in Nicaragua.

We have only four years to prepare for the great contest of 1860. Give Walker the power, and he will solve not only the Central American question, but with it that of Cuba. Once firmly estahlished in Nicaragua, he will restore tbe West Indies to their original condition, as slave colonies. It can he demonstrated that the comparative decline of New Orleans commenced with the abolltion policy of England in the American tropics. It only reqnires the defeat of Walker in Nicaragua and the Africanization of Cuba to make the decline more than comparative, perhaps irretrievable. It only requires, on the other hand, the reorganization of Central America, as a slave producing conntry, with the redemption of the West Indies from negro barbarism, to make New Orleans the centre of a vast tropical empire, and to realize, in connection with the Pacific trade, the advantages to which she is geographically entitled. This is a work for the Southern party. We have shown our power in national politics; let us give it practical direction at home.

In the foregoing, we have hriefly reviewed the causes which led to the reaction in the North, and sketched the assnmption that Buchanan's election was a certainty. But what will be the signification of his election, with regard to all tbe important questions of the day, we shall be compelled to leave to the solntion of time. So far as it may convey a rehuke to the fanatical spirit of the North; so far as it may be an effectnal protest against the open attempt of one section to subject another to the tyranny of a hostile majority; so far as it may show that the resistance policy on the part of the South is really the only policy that can save the Union, and our rights and onr honor at the same time—tbus far, at least, it will he a triumph for the South, and a valuahle lesson to politicians of both sections. It will prove that Northern interest is snperior to Southern fanaticism, and that Slavery, thongh the snhject of sectional agitation, is really the strongest conservative and national element in the Union.

What the Northern wing of the Democratic Congress may do with the Slavery qnestion we shall have to leave to future developments. We fear, however, it is deeply imhued in the non-extension theory, to which so many Democratic leaders, North and South, have given their sanction. It was no good omen to see the yonnger Van Buren and John C. Breckinridge making speeches from the same platform and in the same cause, and the elder Van Buren and Mr. Buchanan emhracing npon the same constrnction of the Nebraska hill.

These omens have not heen improved hy the profnse declarations made hy Democratic speakers and journals of the North, that the Black Repnblicans nttered "infamous lies" in charging Mr. Bnchanan wlth heing in favor of Slavery extension. Why so earnest in this denial, if the Northern Democracy desires to preserve the political equality of the South, to which the extension of Slavery is essential. But, after all, we have the Ostend Manifesto, to which Mr. Buchanan is pledged. There is sound enongh Southern doctrine in that; and if Mr. Buchanan shall live up to it, well and good; we will he the first to throw the mantle of forgiveness over all his past political sins of omission or commission.

Meantime, as we have often said hefore, though not nnexceptionable, he is our choice for President; but in supporting him we have chosen to do so with our eyes open, and have desired that the Sonthern people shonld have their eyes open also. If they vote with them shnt, it will be no fault of ours; if deceived in any particular, they cannot shake their heads and say we did it.

The futnre is yet a prohlem. Assuming Mr. Buchanan's election to he a certainty, the horizon is still misty. But of this we feel sure; the Northern reaction against Fremont is due to the resistance policy; and the *Delta*, and other so-called extremists and disnnionists of the South, have been the trne Union savers.

"A distinguished Lonisianian," writing to the *Delta* from Washington, finishes his letter as follows:

"But the time is now past to disouss this matter, (disnnion.) A trnce of four years to words—let ns go into action—make our terms, based on the Constitution—and determine not to have peace till these conditions, just in the eyes of Heaven and man, are subscrihed to hy the whole country. The existence of the Union depends upon it. I say for one, and 'I say it boldly,' 'upon the extension of Slavery hangs the equality and very existence of the South'—the extension of Slavery is the most effective Union-preserving plank that oan he dovetailed into the Democratic platform. Let ns have it in by 1860."

A short time since, at Antwerp, a child was stifled in a cradle by a cat coming into the room, and lying on tbe child's face. The parents were asleep in the same room, but did not discover the unfortunate circumstance until the morning.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

It seems that some slight verhal inaccuracies have crept into the Platform adopted at Philadelphia, as it appears in some of the newspapers. We therefore repuhlish the genuine document, as it appeared in the *Era* on the 3d instant. The discrepanciss are so slight as to escape observation, except when carefully compared with the true reading. In fact, there is not a shade of difference in principle hetween the true and the erroneous reading. Still, it is highly proper that the genuine document should be adhered to.

"This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pnrsuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do

"1. *Resolve*, That the maintenance of the principles promnlgated in the Declaration of Independence, and emhodisd in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Repnhlican institutions; and that tbe Federal Constitution, ths rights of the States, and the nnion of the States, shall he preserved.

"2. *Resolved*, That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident trnth that all men are endowed with the nnalienable right to life, liherty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure those rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Repnblican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shonld he deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it hecomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitntion against all attempts to violate it, to prevent the establishment of Slavery in the Territories of the United States hy positive legislation prohibiting its existence therein. And we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individnals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained."

"3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution confers npon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exsrcise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in its Territories those twin relics of barharism, Polygamy and Slavery.

"4. *Resolved*, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and estahlished by the people in order to 'form a more perfect nnion, estahlish justice, insnre domestic tranqnillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liherty,' and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property, of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

"Their Territory has heen invaded hy an armed force;

"Spnrions and pretended Legislative, Judicial, and Executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

"The rights of the people to kssp and bear arms have been infringed;

"Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

"The right of an accused person to a speedy and pnblic trial hy an impartial jury has heen denied;

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has heen violated;

"They have been deprived of life, liherty, and property, without due process of law;

"That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

"The right to choose their Representatives has heen made of no effect;

"Murders, robberies, and arsons, have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpnnished;

"That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and Humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either hefore or after the facts, before the country and hefore the world; and that it is our fixed pnrpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious ontrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

"5. *Resolved*, That Kansas shonld he immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectnal way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her Territory.

"6. *Resolved*, That the highwayman's plea that 'might makes right,' embodied in the Ostend Circnlar, was in every respect unwortby of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

"7. *Resolved*, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole conntry, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant ronte on the line of the railroad.

"8. *Resolved*, That appropriations hy Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and seonrity of our existing commerce, are authorized hy the Constitution, and justified hy the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

"9. *Resolved*, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from ns in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, helieving that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country gnaranties liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security."

A CARD.

Some answer is due to the friends and contributors of the Albany Manual Labor University, who inquire why I have withdrawn from my connection with that Institution. Its abandonment of an important foundation principle (anti-sectarianism) is a prominent reason.

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